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TASS Comments on Global Chemical Weapons Ban

LD1602172290 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 16 Feb 90

[By TASS observer on military issues Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—One of the problems discussed at recent negotiations in Moscow with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker was how to attain a common goal—a global ban on the development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons, as well as their total elimination.

As a result of joint efforts, the USSR and the U.S. coordinated a detailed plan. The two sides reaffirmed their determination to promote the conclusion of a multilateral, effectively controlled convention on chemical weapons. They pledged to do their utmost to speed up multilateral talks in Geneva in order to resolve the remaining problems and complete the working out of the convention as soon as possible.

Moscow and Washington decided, without waiting for the multilateral convention, to draw up a bilateral agreement providing for the elimination of a considerable part of Soviet and American chemical weapon stockpiles in order to reduce them to equally low levels. The bilateral agreement will be ready to be signed at the Washington summit next June.

An official joint statement on chemical weapons adopted on the results of the Shevardnadze-Baker meeting contains important commitments:

First, the consent of the American side (the USSR has long supported this commitment) to stop the production of chemical weapons as soon as the multilateral convention comes into force.

Second, the Soviet Union agreed with the American proposal that after the convention goes into effect, the sides will continue to reduce their chemical weapons stockpiles for eight years to equally low levels that will be a fraction of the present stockpiles. They will eliminate the remaining stockpiles in the next two years. All countries that potentially can possess chemical weapons should join the convention.

Third, the bilateral Soviet-American agreement envisages cooperation in the technology and procedures for the safe, quick, ecologically and economically feasible elimination of chemical weapons.

The development of a joint plan of action aimed at speeding up the multilateral convention, the constructive taking into consideration of each other's stands, the preparation of a bilateral agreement on the elimination of chemical weapons stockpiles, and the pledge to help each other eliminate the dangerous weapons are an important precedent in Soviet-American cooperation in practical disarmament. This experience should be used in other spheres of arms control.

Baker Views Progress in Reaching Arms Agreements

LD1902112790 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] New York February 19 TASS—United States Secretary of State James Baker has emphasised the importance of reaching agreements on strategic and conventional arms and on troop strength in Europe.

He said Sunday on ABC-TV's "This Week With David Brinkley" program that the latest political events make it possible to advance more rapidly on a number of arms control agreements that for years remained in a suspended state.

Baker is convinced that this opportunity should not be passed up.

At the same time the U.S. secretary of state argued that American troops should remain in Western Europe, since European countries, including East European ones and the Soviet Union, regard them as a stabilising factor.

He said that American troops are stationed in Europe by invitation and added that if the invitation were to be cancelled, American troops would return home.

The U.S. secretary of state also talked about German reunification.

He said the United States believes that a reunified Germany should be closely connected with the West through NATO and European Economic Community membership.

He said that all foreign policy aspects of German reunification, including issues concerning NATO membership and the presence of foreign troops in Germany, should be settled at talks between the two German states and the four World War Two victor powers—the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, and France.

Reportage on Roundtable Dialogue With NATO

Gen Lobov Urges Bloc Cooperation

LD1702151590 Moscow TASS in English 1457 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Unless there are conditions for dissolving the Warsaw Pact and NATO, relations between them should be build on a non-confrontational basis, General Vladimir Lobov, chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact joint armed forces, told TASS today.

He was speaking upon his return from Brussels where he and other Soviet parliamentarians took part in a roundtable meeting with NATO officials.

Lobov said the interaction between the two blocs now covers mainly military and political issues, which is explained by the nature of the blocs, and called for the expansion of their cooperation.

"There are now enough prerequisites for the blocs' cooperation in solving a whole number of global problems, such as environment," he said.

The general said that at the Brussels meeting, which he described as constructive, the Soviet delegation set forth its concept of the future of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

The Soviet Union and its allies believe that the construction of a "common European home" will make the blocs unnecessary. "This is why we call for the simultaneous dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and NATO," Lobov said.

He said this goal could be achieved by deepening further disarmament processes, building confidence, developing cooperation and creating a collective security system in Europe.

"As long as the Warsaw Pact and NATO have to be preserved, they should be gradually transformed from military-political alliances into political-military ones," the general said.

Falin Confirms 'Simple Truth'

LD1702122290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2147 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Brussels, 17 Feb. TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov reports:

A useful, frank dialogue—that was the unanimous evaluation of a "roundtable" meeting held in the Belgian capital today. It involved members of the political committee and committee for defense and security issues of the North Atlantic Assembly, to which parliamentarians from the 16 NATO countries belong, and a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet, which arrived in Brussels for the first time at the invitation of the Assembly. [passage omitted]

Particular attention was paid to the problem of the unification [obyedineniye] of Germany. Diverse points of view were expressed on this matter. In particular, a number of NATO parliamentarians pointed out that such a prospect is capable of provoking legitimate anxiety among neighboring countries. The Soviet side noted that the resolution of this issue depends on the will of the German people. However, the right of all European peoples to security and their interests have to be taken into account here. [passage omitted]

Summing up its results, V.M. Falin, the head of the Soviet delegation, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet's International Affairs Committee and chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, noted that the discussion of issues of mutual interest, including those which even yesterday were a "forbidden zone", confirmed a simple truth: When there is a desire to understand each other and especially a readiness to take account of the interests of others, it is not so hard to find a common language and to reach identical or similar conclusions. One of the peculiarities of this period is the transition from monologues which masqueraded as a discussion to a real dialogue between East and West. After the meetings in Brussels, we have a better idea of the prospects for our common future and of what specifically needs to be done, including at the parliamentary level, to ensure that this future is not a copy of the past.

Soviet-U.S. Dialogue Continues on Concessions

PM2002112590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov: "Real Background to Two Concessions"]

[Text] Intensive Soviet-U.S. dialogue last week occurred in Moscow and this week has moved to Ottawa, where the foreign ministers of the two powers met again—for the "Open Skies" Conference of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states. There, too, the emphasis shifted to the most urgent problems of the Vienna talks and Germany's unification. Advances assessed in the West as concessions by the Soviet Union were achieved on these two questions.

What specifically is at issue? On 31 January President Bush, responding to the changes of recent months, proposed—within the framework of the Vienna talks—that the numerical strength of U.S. and Soviet troops on foreign territories in the central zone of Europe be reduced to 195,000 men—instead of the former level of 275,000 which he proposed last spring and which was accepted by the Soviet Union. Here Bush retained for the Americans a kind of "makeweight" of 30,000 men—outside the central zone, on the territory of Britain, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. The lack of symmetry was promoted to the level of a principle and explained by the allies' requests and the United States' remoteness from Europe.

The Soviet reply followed 9 February, when Secretary of State Baker was received by M.S. Gorbachev. The Soviet Union, the secretary of state was told, accepts the President's proposal concerning the 195,000 men but not in central Europe but for the entire European zone beyond the USSR, that is without a "makeweight" for the United States. If that is not suitable, it was then stated, the Soviet Union proposes for the entire European region 225,000 men for both the USSR and the United States. The Americans did not accept the Soviet options and Bush retained his asymmetric stance.

And here is a new turn which has given the West the right to speak of a Soviet concession. On Tuesday 13 February, four days after the talk in the Kremlin, Shevardnadze in Ottawa withdrew the Soviet approach and accepted the U.S. one.

Neither Bush nor Baker nor all the rest expected this sudden change. It struck them all.

Another change consists in the rapid Soviet consent to the formula of "two plus four" put forward by the

Americans and their allies. "Two" means the two German states which immediately after the 18 March elections in the GDR will sit down to elaborate the terms for unification. "Plus four" means the United States, the USSR, Britain, and France, the former victorious countries. They will consult with each other and with the "two" on the external aspects of a settlement and about how to place the German unification process within the all-European process with a consideration for the European states' concerns, primarily with the question of the inviolability of postwar borders. Incidentally, Mazowiecki's voice has already been heard talking of Poland's right to be fifth on the basis of the slogan "nothing about us without us" which Polish history has attained through suffering.

The Western viewpoint also predominates in the question of the status of a united Germany. Not the neutrality which GDR Premier Modrow suggested and to which Moscow is inclined, but a united Germany's membership of NATO and its military organization. In that sense the position of Washington (and Bonn) is unshakable and our pliancy is described in particular by Shevardnadze's words to the effect that the neutrality option is the best but obviously not the only option.

When Baker, after Prague, Moscow, Sofia, Bucharest, and Ottawa, returned to Washington, Bush congratulated him on his excellent results. In the presence of journalists. Here is an extract from the official shorthand transcript.

Question: Were you not aware on Monday that things were moving in that direction?

Bush: Not aware on Monday that on Tuesday they were going to have a deal. I did not even suspect it.

Baker: Nor were we in Ottawa, I might add.

Bush: Nor were we on the deal to reduce troop numbers. You've got to realize, we're dealing with historic change. I intend to be elated over this (laughter).

What Bush and Baker did not say directly is said by NEW YORK TIMES observer Apple: "For several months now Mikhail Gorbachev has been playing the game so skillfully with a bad hand that you have often formed the impression that he has a full hand of trump cards. But, in going halfway to meet President Bush on the question of the numerical strength of troops and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the question of Germany's reunification, he has graphically demonstrated his country's strategic weakness. Encountering numerous internal economic problems, the growing independence of the East European countries which were once satellites, and the almost universal decline of communism, this Soviet leader has renounced important Soviet tasks and assumed the positions which the West has long occupied."

This assessment requires elucidation—both tactical and strategic. Of course, if some option is put forward at summit level (as was the case with our proposal on the levels of the troops of the USSR and the United States in Europe's central zone) it is not the custom to deviate from it four days later, giving the other side the impression that poorly justified and defended positions have been surrendered.

On the other hand, if you take the question more broadly, the arguments of Western commentators are incorrect when they assert that for the first time the total numerical correlation between the armed forces of the two powers in Europe is henceforth forming in the Americans' favor. Outside the central zone, in the European part of the Soviet Union, there are far more soldiers than the Americans' 30,000. And we will withdraw our troops only across our own border, not across the Atlantic. As before, the overall arithmetic remains in our favor.

But after many years of officially varnishing over the state of affairs, we are now in a worse position than the United States with our allies. The West European governments advocate the continuing presence of U.S. troops as a guarantee that their security will interlock with U.S. security. But at the talks with the USSR Hungary and Czechoslovakia are insisting on the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territories as early as this year.

We do not intend to linger but time is needed to "pack our bags," because over decades of billeting we have accumulated many bags and the throughput capacity of the renowned Chop (two additional echelons a day) is insignificantly small for the 1,500 military echelons which should move out of Czechoslovakia alone. In the fifties and sixties, we would often write about anti-U.S. demonstrations in the West European capitals under the slogans "Yanks, go home!" Now we have reached the point of reportages from Prague with the slogan "Ivan, go home!" appearing on our television screens in the era of glasnost. It is hard for the mass consciousness to digest this, but it is best not to sugar the truth.

It is not hard to guess one more aspect of our consent to the U.S. maximum of 195,000: If this accord is enshrined in Vienna we will acquire the right, recognized by a multilateral agreement, to retain our military superiority over the Americans on GDR territory. Given the present pace of change, the saying "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush" is doubly true. Indeed, if a new Germany joins NATO in its entirety, how will Moscow retain its troops in the Eastern part of Germany? So far according to Genscher's plan, the West's return concession to Moscow is merely that no U.S. troops will be deployed in East Germany. As for Poland, remembering the German invasion better than others in East Europe, it is not forcing the issue of the Soviet troops' withdrawal.

Our concessions are obvious but in the strategic sense they are concessions to reality. Yes, Soviet troops will leave, and in the immediate future this withdrawal from

East Europe will accelerate and expand. The retreat to positions of realism is dictated by internal circumstances and the problems and needs of perestroyka. On that plane Apple is right. It is naive to expect that the West will not use our "straitened" circumstances to its own advantage, for instance by strengthening its relations with the East European states. But if the West overdoes it, it may lose the advantage. Realism is required from all sides, without it a new Europe which has said farewell to confrontation and totalitarianism is impossible.

In the central Europe zone the Soviet Union has for decades kept almost twice as many troops as the Americans, not to mention tanks. And not only because the Americans are far from Europe and we are part of Europe but, mainly, because we did not count money and assets, protecting the fruit of our great victory even here and with an unreasonable zeal depriving our people of their seemingly natural fruit and sacrificing their welfare. And if there is no good life, then what exactly can we offer our neighbors as an example for emulation?! That is where the strategic weakness was revealed, and not in the fact that we are now in fact acknowledging it.

The socialist community, which the Soviet Union created after the war as a barrier and according to its right as victor to the West of its own territory is essentially ceasing to exist in its previous form. With the passing of the years and decades it has become increasingly clear that the models of Stalin's "people's democracy" and Brezhnev's "real socialism" introduced in neighboring countries continued to exist only by enforced administrative edict means. They lost their point since they failed to fulfill their historical promise—giving the peoples a better life. And it is more than natural that the authoritarian regimes have collapsed as soon as the props of our various forms of aid, including military aid, were removed from under them.

In general the question of concessions is not only a question of tactics or strategy. It is also the question of long-term accounts which the past is settling even with those—and primarily with those—who deliberately decided to put an end to the past. This does not facilitate movement into the future, does not rid us of the need to be circumspect, but ultimately it teaches us a lot, warns us of a lot, and should strengthen our resolve not to deviate from the new path.

Pact Chief Lushev Meets With Mladgvov, Lukanov

LD1602102190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, 15 Feb (TASS)—Bulgaria's membership of the Warsaw Pact was confirmed during a meeting which took place here today between P. Mladenov, chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria State Council, and Army General P.G. Lushev, commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member states. They stressed the need to strengthen the functions of this military-political organization and to give priority to the political issues linked with the construciton of the common European home and the establishment of a climate of trust, security, and respect among peoples. It was also noted that these processes are contributing to the consolidation of peace throughout the world.

P. Mladenov familiarized the Soviet military commander with the situation in the country, the processes of the radical restructuring of Bulgarian society, and the assertion within it of the principles of democratic socialism. He stressed that these changes are an expression both of the country's loyalty to the allied states and also of its desire for openness to the world. The chairman of the Bulgarian Council of State also said that Bulgaria will continue to develop its international relations on a basis of goodneighborliness, cooperation, and mutual understanding, and that in making its modest contribution to the strengthening of the positive trends it will adhere to the obligations it undertook in Helsinki and Vienna.

On the same day Army General P.G. Lushev was received by A. Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Army General D. Dzhurov, national defense minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, took part in the meetings.

Aboimov on Troop Talks, Public Reaction

AU1602121790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 90 p 13

[CTK report: "Only the Deadlines of the Troops Withdrawal Remain To Be Agreed Upon; I. Aboimov on Demonstrations in the CSSR"]

[Text] Moscow—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov expressed Wednesday [7 February] his opinion regarding the demonstrations held in Prague and other cities, demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia.

When questioned by CTK correspondent Karel Bartak, he said that "he is surprised by the manner in which emotions are being expressed at the moment when, in fact, we are beginning these important talks". He emphasized that both sides are interested in a businesslike and calm atmosphere during the talks.

He drew attention to the fact that when the Soviet Government expressed its consent with regard to beginning talks, it also adopted, as a matter of fact, a fundamental decision to withdraw the troops from Czechoslovakia. "We informed the Czechoslovak side of this at the very beginning of the talks. At the moment the goal is to jointly prepare a pertinent agreement and to determine the deadlines for the withdrawal."

"Pressure—and the organizers of the demonstrations were not concealing the fact that they were timed to coincide with the beginning of the second round of the talks—is not, in my opinion, the best way to improve the corresponding atmosphere of the talks," Aboimov said.

He also pointed to the attempts to "disturb the normal work" of the Soviet Embassy in Prague, which "does not correspond to any norms at all." Embassy officials had to demand that the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry would ensure the embassy's ability to work normally.

We understand fully the urgency of this question for Czechoslovakia and that is also the way we treat it. "The Czechoslovak public should not and must not have a reason for any unfounded anxiety. Our common work has begun and we are sincerely determined not to delay the deadlines of withdrawal. At the same time we expect the Czechoslovak side to understand the obstacles which we are facing."

Aboimov drew attention to the fact that the timetable of the withdrawal appears to be the key divergence, since the deadlines proposed by the Czechoslovak side seem to be "exceedingly harsh."

The transfer and new deployment of so many troops requires, according to him, large-scale preparatory work, and the creation of a corresponding infrastructure on USSR territory. It is not only a question of soldiers performing basic military service but also of officers and their family members who, usually, do not have housing in the USSR. Interruption of school attendance for 10,000 children also creates a problem.

In addition to this "humanitarian factor," there are also technical problems. According to Aboimov, at the round of talks which has just begun, detailed attention will be paid to the capacity of railroads and the number and capacity of trains. The calculations so far of both delegations are diverging to a certain degree, but the specialists on both sides will certainly find a solution which is acceptable to both sides.

"We want to see an organized withdrawal carried out under normal conditions. The talks are businesslike and constructive. On both sides not only endeavor to find mutually acceptable solutions can be observed, but also a care for our relations in the future. Our future cooperation will also depend to no negligible extent on the course the talks take and on their outcome," Aboimov said.

Reportage on Gerasimov's 19 Feb Briefing

Kurile Islands

HK1902123990 Hong Kong AFP in English 1202 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Manila, Feb 19 (AFP)—Genadiy Gerasimov, spokesman for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, said here Monday that a survey of the Soviet population shows that 85 per cent of them oppose returning the Kurile islands to Japan.

Speaking at a media conference, Mr. Gerasimov also said he did not agree that returning the disputed northern territories to Japan was a "prerequisite" for closer ties between Moscow and Tokyo.

He added that some people opposed returning the islands because it would "create a dangerous precedent" which might lead to other calls for changes in post-World War II borders.

"We've conducted an opinion poll. More than 85 per cent of our population are against surrendering these islands to Japan," he said without saying when the poll was held.

Mr. Gerasimov however said that Moscow was conducting "consultations" with Tokyo, whose panel could always raise the issue.

He also hinted that the Soviets may return the islands themselves once ties with Japan warmed.

Kirov's Radioactive Leak

LD1602154290 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Rumours about the alleged radioactive leak from the Soviet cruiser Kirov were denied by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov at a briefing here today.

"These rumours are groundless," he remarked. "The situation on the cruiser hardly differs from that described in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's January 31 article 'Kirov Is Returning to Base'."

Gerasimov said that "the Foreign Ministry obtained this information from the Soviet Defence Ministry."

The spokesman told journalists that Foreign Ministry officials were told at the Defence Ministry that "reports about the alleged violation of Swedish territorial waters by Soviet submarines are baseless."

Cartagena Results

LD1602154590 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—"The results of the drug summit in Cartagena, attended by presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States, require careful study," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said that the very idea of establishing constructive regional cooperation in this field on the basis of international law should be supported.

On behalf of the Soviet Government, Gerasimov expressed the hope that joint ways of combatting the drug problem, as expressed in Cartagena, would contribute to the success of a special session of the U.N. General Assembly on drugs, which opens in New York on April 20.

"This session will be able to adopt an extensive international programme in drug preventions," Gerasimov said.

Finnish Border, Troop Reductions

LD1602164390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—The USSR is reducing the numbers of its land troops deployed along the Soviet-Finnish border to 22,000 men, which amounts to nearly half of Finland's peacetime defense forces. This was announced today at a news briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry information administration, with reference to remarks made by Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, during his recent visit to a military airfield in Kuopio (Finland).

The Foreign Ministry spokesman quoted the words of the army general, who said, in part: "The USSR's nuclear ammunition has been removed from border areas and is now unable to reach the territory of Finland. The Soviet Union has no chemical weapons in the area. The USSR has withdrawn nuclear submarines capable of carrying nuclear weapons from the composition of the Baltic Fleet."

Mikhail Moiseyev, Gennadiy Gerasimov continued, stressed particularly that the Soviet Union is considerably reducing military exercises in the region. At the same time, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman drew attention to the fact that Norway, for its part, intends to hold large-scale maneuvers jointly with its allies this year.

Ethiopia Conflict

LD1602170890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1540 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—The Soviet Union is prepared in principle to continue providing assistance to the negotiation process in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Ethiopia, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs information administration, declared at a press briefing today. He remarked that "the USSR has consistently worked for a political settlement of the conflict at the negotiating table and has searched for forms of national reconciliation in its contacts with the sides in conflict there."

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs representative recalled that in the course of the preliminary two rounds of negotiations the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front achieved accord, including on a mechanism for carrying out further dialogue between themselves. In the opinion of the Soviet Union, he said, "this mechanism must be mobilized."

German Unity Issues

LD1602171690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—"We take an understanding attitude toward the anxiety shown by Poland over guarantees for the inviolability of its borders following a possible unification of Germany," Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, declared today at a news briefing. He was commenting on the statement by a Polish Government press spokesman to the effect that Poland should take part in the "two plus four" conference.

"I think," the Soviet diplomat noted, "that the 'two plus four' formula adopted in Ottawa does not reject, but, on the contrary, entails constant consultations by the two German states and the four powers, which bear particular responsibility for resolving the question, with all interested countries, including Poland."

The movement toward bringing the two German states closer together, Gennadiy Gerasimov emphasized, must take account of the interests of neighbors, although the USSR thinks that the Germans themselves must determine the pace, timing, and terms of the drawing together and possible unification. "Our concern is to see that war should never again come from German land," the Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

Afghan Withdrawal Anniversary

LD1602231890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1509 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—"The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in one way or another has brought closer the political settlement of the Afghan problem and the achievement in the near future of national reconciliation on the territory of this country." This was stressed today at a briefing by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, in connection with the 15 February anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The Soviet Union, the Republic of Afghanistan, and the international community as a whole cannot but be interested in the speediest settlement of the Afghan conflict, as is testified to by the corresponding UN General Assembly resolutions, he said. The USSR's conceptual approach to the method for achieving this, the diplomat continued, is set out in the recently published article by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the newspaper IZVESTIYA. President Najibullah also put forward new proposals in the plan for establishing peace on Afghan soil in his appearance on television and radio on the eve of the anniversary of the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

In this connection, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed the necessity of the 1988 Geneva Accords being fulfilled and observed by all the sides that signed them, noting that in the first place this concerns Pakistan. A vital role in the implementation of a broad inter-Afghan dialogue with the participation of all political forces active in Afghanistan and outside it, without exception, could also be played by halting all arms supplies to the sides fighting in Afghanistan, regardless of their source, with a simultaneous announcement of a pause or end to military activities, the diplomat said. A first step to the halting of military actions could be the mutual rejection of missile attacks on opposing sides' positions, he indicated.

It is also important to begin a dialogue between the opposing sides, drawing into this the most influential religious representatives and political and public figures in Afghanistan, the diplomat said.

Concerning the Soviet Union, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, "We again confirm our readiness for a constructive exchange of opinions with the United States, Pakistan, and Iran on all aspects of a settlement in Afghanistan and for a dialogue with field commanders, with the leaders of the Peshawar and other groups, and with everyone who wants to help solve the Afghan problem."

The Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed, is also trying with the government of the Republic of Afghanistan to solve as quickly as possible the issue of the release of Soviet soldiers captured by the Afghan opposition.

TASS Overview

LD1602181690 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—"The results of the drug summit in Cartagena, attended by presidents of Bolivia, Colombia, Peru and the United States, require careful study," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a briefing here today.

He said that the very idea of establishing constructive regional cooperation in this field on the basis of international law should be supported.

On behalf of the Soviet Union, Gerasimov expressed the hope that joint ways of combatting the drug problem, as expressed in Cartagena, would contribute to the success of a special session of the U.N General Assembly on drugs, which opens in New York on April 20.

The Soviet Union is ready to facilitate the negotiating process in order to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict in Ethiopia, Gennadiy Gerasimov said.

"In its contacts with the warring sides, the USSR has always pressed for a political settlement on the conflict at the negotiating table and a search for national reconciliation," Gerasimov went on.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet Union is reducing its number of troops on the Soviet-Finnish border, quoting General of the Army Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, who announced this during his recent visit to the Kuopio airfield in Finland.

Rumours about the alleged radioactive leak from the Soviet cruiser Kirov were denied by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov at the briefing.

"These rumours are groundless," he remarked. "The situation on the cruiser hardly differs from that described in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's January 31 article 'Kirov Is Returning to Base'."

Gerasimov said that "the Foreign Ministry obtained this information from the Soviet Defence Ministry."

The spokesman told journalists that Foreign Ministry officials were told at the Defence Ministry that "reports about the alleged violation of Swedish territorial waters by Soviet submarines are baseless."

Shevardnadze Interviewed on Ottawa Conference

PM1902172190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze on board the aircraft returning from Ottawa 16 February by M. Yusin: "Eduard Shevardnadze: Everything in the World Is Changing With Giddy Rapidity. Interview on Board Aircraft"]

[Text] [Yusin] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, your visit to Canada has ended. Are you satisfied with its results?

[Shevardnadze] Totally. I remember my previous visit to this country in 1986. I cannot forget the atmosphere of those days—numerous demonstrations outside the Soviet Embassy, vast rolls of paper bearing lists of "refuseniks"—that is, those people who had not been permitted to leave the USSR.... Some 41 months have elapsed and how everything has changed! A quite different atmosphere. Yesterday's problems have ceased to be topical. No one mentioned "refuseniks." We were accorded a warm and sincere reception, people trust us more, and have ceased to fear us. The perception of the Soviet Union has changed completely.

Now, a word about the conference. For a few days all life in the city was focused on our meeting. The prime minister, ministers, and parliamentary deputies did everything to create a benevolent cosy atmosphere. This also left its mark on the course of our work. The plenary sittings took place without confrontation; we all tried to avoid unnecessary aggravation.

You may have noticed that the European aspect was virtually nonexistent in my speech. All the other speakers broached it, but I did not. The point is that my colleagues discussed the question of a united Germany in detail before the conference. Everyone said that it must enter NATO. I do not of course agree with that. But if I had developed all our arguments at this sitting, people would probably have objected, there would have been a dispute, and the problems of "open skies" would have ultimately been left on the sidelines.

[Yusin] I understand that making forecasts in politics is a highly complex business. But I would nonetheless like to find out your prognosis—when and how will German unification take place? What scenario is the most acceptable for the Soviet Union?

[Shevardnadze] I think that the concept put forward by Hans Modrow, head of the GDR Government, is very interesting. He has submitted a very sensible and well-considered plan. A treaty-based community, confederative relations, a federation, and lastly German unification with the capital in Berlin as the final stage. That is, it is a question of stages; Modrow acknowledges that unification is a gradual process.

At the same time it is hard to agree with the stance held by some leaders. They have turned the German problem (particularly everything linked with the GDR) into the subject of the election struggle. The leaders of various parties are, as it were, vying with one another as to who will put forward the most radical and most revolutionary slogans.

During a conversation with Genscher I told him to consider the possible consequences. I reminded him that the USSR has still not had its weighty say. Let no one be tempted to think that Moscow will remain unconcerned [bezuchastnaya] if a united Germany joins NATO. We have a stock of options.

There is another set of problems—economic problems. Ties between the Soviet Union and the GDR have taken shape over the decades. In my opinion, the USSR can only stand to gain if the GDR and the FRG have a single currency. Today the Soviet Union supplies the GDR with 17 million tonnes of oil. If we begin selling it at world prices for hard currency, that will provide a vast income. The same applies to gas, cotton, iron ore, and many other resources.

Or take another aspect. Approximately 60-70 percent of the exports of certain GDR industrial sectors is sold on the Soviet market. To be frank this output by no means always accords with world standard and is not in demand in the West. If a united Germany emerges, we will have different relations with it, and economic ties will be put on a different footing. To whom will the goods produced on the territory of the present-day GDR be sold? There will be serious problems here.

I mentioned all this in order to show, using a concrete example, how complex the process of the states' unification is.

You asked about timeframes.... It is indeed difficult to predict. But I believe that unification will not take place as quickly as people in Bonn are predicting. It will most likely take several years.

[Yusin] How may the German aspect affect the process of European integration?

[Shevardnadze] We are concerned that the process of German unification is outstripping the course of European integration. We are not the only ones to be concerned by this, our anxiety is shared by the French and the British. We must not allow the changes taking place in Germany to impede the building of a common European home.

[Yusin] How do people in the United States see European integration?

[Shevardnadze] There has been a turnaround in U.S. policy on this question. At first they reacted in an extremely restrained fashion to rapprochement among the Europeans. Now there are increasingly positive comments. People in Washington are well aware that the all-European process is advancing and deepening. Mitterrand has put forward the idea of a European confederation. Moreover, this is not just a mere idea—the corresponding structures are already being formed. Naturally Americans do not want to tail along in the rear, lagging behind world trends. Hence the amendments to their policy.

There is also another element. Soviet "European strategy" has also changed very greatly. Previously, quite recently, our aim was to oust the Americans from Europe at any price.

Now we are putting our relations with the United States on a different footing. Gorbachev's statement on Malta when he said the following was an important milestone on this path: We no longer regard the United States as our enemy. Those are bold words, they were very hard to pronounce.

In past years we were always in the thrall of a complex—any U.S. initiatives were rejected out of hand. Why, for instance, could we not agree in the fifties with President Eisenhower's proposal on "open skies"? After all there would then have been no need to return to this problem today after so long.

We have learned to seek and find grains of reason in our transatlantic partners' initiatives. Bush has proposed reducing the numerical strength of Soviet and U.S. troops in Europe. We have attentively analyzed this idea and our positions grew closer at the talks with Baker in Moscow. Here in Ottawa, an agreement has been secured and another knot unraveled.

I foresee recriminations that the USSR has supposedly made concessions on this question. If any concession was made, it was only to common sense. We have reached a reasonable compromise with the Americans. It is on the ability to find such compromises that diplomacy is based.

[Yusin] It is known that most embittered disputes arose in Ottawa during the adoption of the statement on the German question. Over what?

[Shevardnadze] Western representatives insisted on the following wording: The ministers of six states will meet to discuss the German problem after the GDR elections 18 March. This version would have contained a very dangerous declaration. It looked as though we were effectively predetermining the fate of the current GDR leadership, proceeding on the assumption that it will be defeated in the elections, and preferring to do business with those forces which are now in opposition.

The Soviet side categorically objected to this wording. We said that if the FRG and its allies were to insist on it, that would wreck the signing of the statement and no "group of six" would be set up. The reference to 18 March was ultimately removed.

[Yusin] Do you not have the impression that we have lagged behind the course of events for some time on the German question?

[Shevardnadze] I would not say that. There was a lag, but not on our part. I am convinced that if GDR leaders had embarked on reforms in the past (say, two years ago), the situation today would be different. But they doggedly stuck to their viewpoint: We have built socialism, we do not need any amendments, we are proceeding along the right path, all social problems have been resolved in our country.... Honecker was not conscious of his people's sentiments. As a result the time for reform was lost, never to return.

But what should we have done? After all, we could not impose our position on Honecker. One of the basic principles of the new thinking is the rejection of diktat, of interference in internal affairs.... Although we realized that sooner or later the leaders of that country would encounter very serious difficulties. Just like the Czechoslovak leaders. It was impossible not to see that. It is sufficient to recall how the people greeted Gorbachev in Prague and Berlin. They hailed him as a savior and asked him to help, to exert influence....

If Jakes, on coming to power, had started with serious reforms of the economic and political systems, then I believe that many questions would not be so acute today in Czechoslovakia, too.... As for Ceausescu, things there were more complex, of course. He was convinced that he was building precisely the society that accorded with the interests of every Romanian. But as it turned out....

I remember Comrade Vorotnikov's return from the last Romanian Communist Party congress—this was only a few months ago. "I am tired," he said. "Why are you tired?" "I stood up 75 times during Ceausescu's report. What could I do? The whole auditorium stood up, so could I alone stay seated?" And Shcherbitskiy had also counted when he attended the previous congress. That time it was 65 times. Tumultuous applause swelling into an ovation and universal rapture.... And everything collapsed in the space of two days!

[Yusin] In your view, how likely is the possibility of the Warsaw Pact's disintegration?

[Shevardnadze] I do not think this is a likely prospect. Until the German question has been resolved, the Czechoslovaks and, all the more so, the Poles are interested in guarantees of stability. And precisely the Warsaw Pact provides such guarantees.

The question of the presence of Soviet troops on the territory of allied states is another matter. We have already stated our readiness to withdraw all our contingents from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. If the Polish Government wishes it, we are also agreeable to beginning talks on the presence of Soviet troops in Poland. True, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski told me that the Polish leadership is not raising the question of a troop withdrawal. There have been individual statements by Polish politicians and journalists on the need to withdraw the Soviet troops.... But this is not the official stand of the country's government.

[Yusin] The Poles are not yet asking for a troop withdrawal, but you are already confirming the USSR's readiness to meet an unstated demand. The impression is created that the decision to withdraw our soldiers from Czechoslovakia and Hungary was also adopted painlessly. And yet only a few months ago any mention of such a turn of events aroused extreme concern and even nervousness in Moscow. What has changed since then? Why are we now taking so calmly problems connected with a troop withdrawal?

[Shevardnadze] Yes, we really are looking calmly at these things now. Although I foresee that not everyone in the Soviet Union will take the same attitude to the measures taken. Some people are criticizing us.... But at the same time they forget that troops were sent into Czechoslovakia after the conclusion of the Warsaw Pact. And we have condemned that action. What grounds do we have for insisting on leaving our Army there? No grounds.... The same with Hungary. The troops should have been withdrawn earlier, thus avoiding the need for rectification now.

Difficulties of a different kind will arise in this connection. Officers and their families will return to the motherland. They must be provided with apartments, kindergartens, creches, and schools. These problems have to be tackled in earnest.... But on the political plane, I will repeat, there are no questions.

[Yusin] If Germany does not belong to military blocs and remains to a certain extent out of control—will there not be in that case a growth of neofascism, revanchism, and militarism? Will a neutral, independent Germany not be more dangerous for European stability than a Germany belonging to NATO?

[Shevardnadze] In arguing like this, you proceed from the premise that NATO will remain unchanged and will not undergo any evolution. And yet there are no such guarantees. Today all seems to be well and we have normal, civilized relations with all the NATO countries, but tomorrow the situation could be different....

Everything in the world is changing at breakneck speed. What if a dictator accedes to power after a while in France or, let us say, Britain? Or in the Soviet Union? Addressing the last Central Committee plenum, I said that if perestroyka fails there is a danger of a dictatorship becoming established. And such a variant cannot be ruled out in Poland.

This is why, in my speech at the Ottawa meeting, I placed the emphasis on European structures above all. It is precisely within their framework, not within the framework of military blocs, that the process of rapprochement and unity of the two Germanies must take place.

[Yusin] Why is it, do you think, that our conservatives have recently been actively playing the "German card," painting in ghastly colors the future of Europe and the USSR after Germany's unification, and, at the same time, accusing Gorbachev of supposedly "pandering" to this process?

[Shevardnadze] Why? In order to stop perestroyka and discredit the country's leadership. They cast doubt on everything—both our domestic and our foreign policy. Both democracy and political pluralism, which we have recognized. Although they realize perfectly well that we could not, simply did not have the right to act differently.

Addressing the plenum, one comrade said: Only recently the USSR was a great state which commanded authority, and the whole world admired it. And there was East Europe—the guarantee of our security.... The implication was that we have destroyed all this—both the greatness and the guarantee....

But what was behind all this? We know what they admired.... Troops were sent into Czechoslovakia, and incipient progressive developments were destroyed. Do they think that the world admired this? In Hungary "order was instilled" in 1956. Did Europe go into rapture, too? We went into Afghanistan. What was this called then—an international duty? But it would be correct to call it an invasion. And was the world once again full of admiration? Precisely 128 states at the United Nations voted against us—for resolutions which condemned our Afghan policy. Such was the degree of this "admiration"! But some people among us even now ask puzzled questions: Why was a vast power with a five-million-strong army really unable to cope with little Afghanistan?!

[Yusin] In your opinion, is it possible to rule out a repetition of the "Panama variant"—a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua if the Sandinistas win the upcoming elections?

[Shevardnadze] Perhaps I will appear naive, but I consider both the President and the secretary of state of the United States serious politicians and people who keep their word. Baker told me both in Wyoming and in Moscow that the United States will recognize the results of honest elections in Nicaragua.

[Yusin] In recent weeks Western newspapers have been writing that diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel will be restored in March this year. To what extent can these reports be trusted?

[Shevardnadze] They are groundless. We really have taken certain steps for normalization—we have established consular, trade, and economic relations with Israel. But the Israelis themselves have complicated the situation recently. I mean the settling of immigrants from the Soviet Union on occupied lands. This is an unwise, irresponsible policy on Tel Aviv's part.

[Yusin] You attended a parliamentary debate in Ottawa. After that you promised in one of your speeches: On returning to Moscow, I will tell the Politburo members that political pluralism and opposition parties are not such a terrible phenomenon. Will you really tell them that?

[Shevardnadze] I will, although they already know it.... I have long been pondering the problem of political pluralism. I remember how this question was debated in a narrow circle approximately two years ago. It was necessary to record in a very serious document that we favor political pluralism. The majority of the comrades participating in that conference rose in rebellion: What sort of pluralism, for heaven's sake?! And this word was taken out altogether. But I am sure that if we had recognized back at that the legitimacy of the multiparty system, then many processes in our society would not be so painful today.

'Military Force' Not Ruled Out in German Issue

LD1602200890 Montreal International Service in English 1930 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] A high-ranking Soviet official in Moscow has given indications that negotiations on the reunification of Germany may be tough. The official is a spokesman for the Communist Party's Central Committee; he spoke to the CANADIAN PRESS NEWS AGENCY on the condition that he not be named.

Earlier this week the Soviet Union agreed to negotiate German unity with its three World War II allies and the two Germanies. The West has suggested that an integrated East Germany might remain demilitarized. The official in Moscow says the Soviet Union would never agree to this. He added that as long as Mikhail Gorbachev is in power the Soviet Union will incline toward the neutrality of Germany, but he suggested a possible compromise. The Central Committee spokesman said both NATO and Soviet forces might remain in Germany even after reunificaiton.

The official added that the Soviet Union does not rule out military force to prevent reunification under unacceptable terms.

United States & Canada

'Top Priority' Program Assesses Baker Visit

LD1802053190 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Feb 90

["Top Priority" program presented by Sergey Goryachov with Andrey Kortunov, an expert from the USA and Canada Institute, and Barry (?Peterson), of CBS Radio and Television]

[Excerpts] [Goryachev] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to "Top Priority." I am Sergey Goryachev. The United States Secretary of State James Baker's talks with the Soviet leadership in Moscow somehow dominated the newscasts lately and had a major impact on newscasts. Today we'll look at what impact this visit and more recent developments had on Soviet-American relations, and I invited today Andrey Kortunov, Andrey...

[Kortunov, interrupting] Hi.

[Goryachev] ...is an expert from the Institute of United States and Canada Studies, and Barry (?Peterson) of CBS Radio and Television. Nice to meet you, Barry.

[(?Peterson)] Thank you.

[Goryachev] Now let me remind our listening audience that opinions expressed here do not necessarily coincide with opinions of the respective governments.

The Soviet Union recently accepted President Bush's proposal for a ceiling of 195,000 troops in Europe—and this Soviet acceptance was announced in Ottawa, in Canada—which allows the United States to keep extra 30,000 troops in Europe. So that [means] the Soviet Union dropped its counterproposal, proposed only four days before that to Mr. Baker, that the troop levels in Europe should be equal for the United States and the Soviet Union. The question is, what do you think had happened during these four days which made the Soviet Union change its position? [passage omitted]

[Kortunov] From my point of view, in Moscow people realize that—that specific figures are not that terribly important under the circumstances because even this military presence of the Soviet Union and the United States in Europe will be the presence during some transitional period. No, I think it's easy to predict these days that in a couple of years there will be no Soviet presence, Soviet military presence in Europe and probably only symbolic American presence in Western Europe. So from this point of view, you know—all this you know—games with figures are like a Monopoly game. You can, you know, have your money, you can trade, you can get your bank account, but when the game is over you just put everything into the box and forget it. So I think it is exactly the case. In three or four or five years it will be absolutely senseless, so why should we keep to some specific figures?

[Goryachev] So you don't think that the Soviet acceptance is just a demonstration of the Soviet weakness. You don't think we were (?weak)?

[Kortunov] No, no, just look at the situation logically. You know, at the moment we (?are) to—we [word indistinct] have our troops in only two East European countries, in Poland and, er,...

[Goryachev] East Germany.

[Kortunov] And in East Germany. So, speaking of Poland, I think the main rationale for keeping troops there is to keep our communication line, and I don't think that we'll need more than 20-30,000 people there. Now, how many people should we keep in East Germany? If we want to have symbolic presence there, if we want to make sure that the process of reunification goes smooth, without any accidents, I think that, well, 100,000 will be more than enough. So it makes about 120, not 195 [thousand].

[Goryachev] Well, anyway, the offer by President Bush had been accepted, and it seems to me that President Bush may now have some difficult time trying to sell his military budget to the Congress now that the diminishing of Soviet presence in Eastern Europe is becoming more and more evident. [passage omitted]

Andrey, would you say that these developments in Eastern Europe and proposed arms cuts in Europe can also polarize the Soviet society, making more vocal those conservative forces who argue that the Soviet Union is compromising too much?

[Kortunov] Well, I would say that it can, well, polarize Soviet society because it is becoming more and more evident that the Soviet Union is lagging behind East European countries, say in many spheres of economic, political reforms. And here there can be two reactions. I think some of our radicals would claim that we should speed up in order to catch up with the developments in Eastern Europe, in order not to be isolated from Eastern Europe, that we should, you know, introduce a multiparty system as fast as it is possible, that we should introduce private property, stock exchange, and all that stuff. But on the other hand I think it can also activate some of the conservative leaders and public opinion makers in the Soviet Union because some actions taken by East European countries are, if not anti-Soviet, then anti-communist, you know. They dismantled their monuments to Lenin, they renamed the streets, they closed the museums of revolution and so on and so forth. So I think that some polarization is inevitable and I would say even more some alienation between the East European countries and the Soviet Union is inevitable. I think it is, because, you know, we cannot catch up with the East European countries in our reforms. As a society we have much more inertia, we are much more complex and much less European.

[(?Petersen)] I would call it, I would call it a more healthy relationship rather than alienation.

[Kortunov] Well, you know, of course you can call it a more healthy relationship but it means that they will look, you know, more to the West than to the East, more to Paris or Bonn than to Moscow. They will try to orient their trade relations to Western Europe rather than to the Soviet Union. Of course I think the Soviet Union will remain a major factor in East European politics, and it will be also a major factor in the economic life; but I think the importance, the overwhelming importance of the Soviet Union will somehow reduce it. Of course it is a healthy factor, but still it is a reduction of our interests.

[(?Petersen)] Can I add one single [word indistinct]? In the couple of years that I've lived here, especially in the last year, I have been amazed with the dramatic changes in Eastern Europe, how little the impact has been in the Soviet Union, and I guess, I sense, that part of it is that the Soviet Union has become so involved in its own problems that people seem somewhat almost unconcerned about changes in Hungary or Czechoslovakia, or that sort of thing. When I think about what you said, the alienation of Eastern Europe, people pulling down statues of Lenin and renaming their streets, my first thought was of Azerbaijan where, before the troops moved in in some of the villages, people were tearing down statues of Lenin and renaming the main square Freedom Square instead of Lenin Square, and I, I, you know I think that Americans continue to call me and say: Well what's the reaction in the Soviet Union of this event in Hungary, or this event in Czechoslovakia? And I continually had to say to people: The reaction is very minor because this country is so involved in its own problems that what's happening outside of its borders, it seems almost insulated against them.

[Kortunov] Well, and I would—in principle I agree with that, that Azerbaijan is certainly more important than Hungary at the moment, but still, you know, I can feel how in our mass media the problem of various difficulties and shortcomings in Eastern Europe is being exploited by conservatives. They know, they are saying, okay, look what inflation they have in Hungary, what jobless rate they have in Poland, do we want to have the same kind of economic troubles at home? Well, that's the point.

[Goryachev] How do you guys see the development of Soviet-American relations between now and the summit in June, in what direction will that go in your opinion? Andrey?

[Kortunov] Well, first of all there are some problems that still have to be solved. There are certain technical details of the START agreement, on the agreement on chemical weapons. Certainly the countries can coordinate their efforts in the conventional sphere. I guess that economic relations will become more and more important, and here I can foresee that Americans will lift Jackson-Vanik Amendment and perhaps even help Gorbachev to get into international financial and economic institutions. And I think the dialogue will continue, the dialogue on different levels, including ministerial level, and at the same time I think that the disintegration of negative linkage between the Soviet Union and the United States goes much faster than the creation of a positive linkage, and that from my viewpoint creates a serious problem. [passage omitted]

Zorin Says Baker Visit 'Promising Step Forward'

LD1802210990 Moscow in English to North America 0000 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Valentin Zorin commentary]

[Text] When U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited Moscow recently I was going to interview him on Soviet television. Sadly, the interview did not take place, writes Valentin Zorin, probably because the schedule of Mr Baker's visit was too tight. In this commentary I would like to tell you what questions I would have put to Mr Baker.

On the eve of the secretary of state's visit to Moscow the NEW YORK TIMES quoted a senior State Department official as saying that the Americans had no idea in what mood Gorbachev would meet them in Moscow. In that connection I would remind you that a full-scale meeting of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee was under way in the Kremlin just before the visit, and in this connection rumors concerning the Soviet leader were widespread. So I was going to begin the interview with a question in what mood Gorbachev received Mr Baker. In one of his statements in Moscow Mr Baker seemed to have answered that question. He said that he found Mikhail Gorbachev quite certain about his authority and that his political positions did not only not weaken after the Central Committee meeting, but on the contrary, grew stronger.

Another question, which to my mind is still unclear, is an obvious discrepancy in Washington's policies. On the one hand administration officials have been saying that they are prepared to take far reaching steps in order to bury the cold war and put an end to the arms race. They have not only been saying this but, together with other countries, have taken specific measures to ensure arms control. On the other hand the administration has presented to Congress a draft of a huge military budget exceeding 300 billion dollars—a level of the cold war period.

Why should the United States retain a high level of military spending at a time when the international situation has been changing for the better? Many American politicians, including members of the U.S. Congress, have been asking the same question. That question was also put to Mr Baker in Moscow by members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet when the U.S. secretary of state addressed them last Saturday.

In conclusion I would say that, despite certain aspects of Washington's position with which the Soviet public has disagreed, in general the visit by the U.S. secretary of state is seen as a promising step forward.

Supreme Soviet Committee Delegation Ends Visit

Legislators Visit U.S. Naval Base

LD1602161290 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Washington February 16 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee for Defence and State Security visited the Norfolk Naval Base in Virginia state, one of the largest U.S. Atlantic coast bases, on Thursday.

The U.S. Norfolk Naval Base hosted Soviet guests for the third time. It was first visited by the chief of General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, when he toured the United States.

Then a Soviet naval squadron paid a visit to the base. The base command have presented to the Soviet delegation a painting depicting a friendly get-together of Soviet and American seamen last summer.

The U.S. Atlantic Fleet Command enabled the Soviet guests to view the latest warships. They visited the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Theodore Roosevelt, believed to be the best ship of the fleet, the missile cruiser Ticonderoga, equipped with the Aegis anti-aircraft defence system, and the battleship Comte de Grasse, armed with Tomahawk cruise missiles.

"I did not know Soviet people before," Admiral Frank Kelso, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Forces, said. "Now in Norfolk all of us see that you smile and laugh like us."

"Personal relations matter much, but policy is policy. I think we should communicate more with each other," he added.

The Soviet delegation arrived in Washington on Thursday. It will have meetings at the Department of State and Defence Department. Then the Soviet legislators will continue the U.S. tour.

Group Visits Pentagon

LD1702115790 Moscow TASS in English 0926 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Washington February 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev:

A delegation of Soviet legislators, on a tour around the United States, on Friday [16 February] was staying in the U.S. capital.

The members of the Defence and State Security Committee of the Supreme Soviet visited the Department of State where they were acquainted with the work of the nuclear risk reduction centre, and met Under Secretaries of State Reginald Bartholomew and Jane Mullins.

They discussed a wide range of international issues, including arms control, and ways to solve regional conflicts.

On the same day, the delegation visited the Pentagon and had the concluding meeting with the leaders of the House of Representatives' Armed Services Committee.

Committee Chairman Les Aspin (Democrat, Wisconsin) said at the meeting that the Soviet Union and the United States had achieved much progress in mutual interparliamentary exchanges.

But, he added, legislators in the two countries will have to do much yet to make this process develop and deepen.

Aspin told TASS that the visit by Soviet parliamentarians was an event of major importance. The legislators visited military installations they wanted to see and met with American lawmakers and military command officers.

Aspin said exchanges of visits by Soviet and U.S. legislators will be continued.

Shabanov, Others Offer Opinions

LD1702143890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0540 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Washington, 17 Feb (TASS)—Understanding between Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians has been strengthened—this is how Les Aspin, chairman of the U.S. House of Representatives Armed Forces Committee, assessed the results of the trip to the United States by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Issues. There was a substantive exchange of opinions yesterday on the possible directions of developing contacts between Soviet and U.S. legislators at the committee headed by him. Thus, O.S. Belyakov, a member of the Soviet delegation, proposed preparing an exchange of delegations of military specialists on types of armed forces. Taking into account the fact that the problems of conversion confront both countries, he pointed out the desirability of organizing trips and meetings of leaders of the defense industry. In his turn I.D. Fasskiy, a member of the delegation, pointed to the necessity of working out a methodology for comparing the military budgets of both countries. Army General V.M. Shabanov, a member of the delegation, expressed the thought that in our times one must not exclude the possibility of an accident in the course of the implementation of some space program. This is why is it necessary to think through an exchange of information between the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) and the Soviet missile attack warning systems and space monitoring [kontrolya] systems. For his part S.A. Tsiplyayev proposed exchanging the texts of laws which each of the committees adopt. In conclusion, V.L. Lapygin, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for

Defense and State Security Issues, described the elaboration of criteria of sufficiency in the sphere of defense as a major task confronting the two countries' parliamentarians.

On the same day members of the Soviet delegation visited the U.S. State Department and met R. Bartholomew, U.S. undersecretary of state, D. Ross, director of the Policy Planning Administration and other officials. A wide range of problems was discussed, in particular, the acute problems of regional conflicts were raised. The Soviet delegation visited the U.S. Defense Department as well. Then a press conference was held at which the Soviet legislators spoke of their impressions of the trip and answered journalist's questions.

Soviet Delegation Ends U.S. Visit

LD2002133290 Moscow TASS in English 1254 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Washington February 20 TASS—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Defence and State Security Committee ended its visit to the United States on Monday. The delegation stayed here at the invitation of the U.S. Congress since February 7.

The delegation, led by committee Chairman Vladimir Lapygin, met representatives of the administration, Congress, business and military circles, as well as of the public. They also toured parts of the United States.

In Washington, the Soviet parliamentarians attended meetings of the House Armed Services Committee and discussed parliamentary exchanges between the two countries with American legislators.

At the Pentagon, they met Defence Secretary Richard Cheney and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell and other military leaders.

At the State Department they talked with its officials and learnt about the activities of the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centre.

The delegation visited a number of military structures, including the atomic laboratory in Los Alamos (New Mexico), the headquarters of the North America Aerospace Defence Command (Colorado) and the Strategic Air Command (Nebraska).

The American side introduced some changes into the delegation's itinerary at its request. Deputy committee Chairman Colonel Valeriy Ochirov was able to visit Fort Bragg (North Carolina) to see combat training of the 82nd Airborne Division units.

The first U.S. visit by a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Defence and State Security Committee was possible due to improved relations between the two countries, and the development of interparliamentary Soviet-American contacts. TASS was told by Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee Les Aspin and other American legislators. Such contacts are acquiring special significance in the present-day international context, American congressmen believe.

The visit will undoubtedly promote better mutual understanding between Soviet and American parliamentarians, Lapygin told TASS. "Members of the delegation understand Americans' attitude to our country better because of their visit to military bases, meetings with officers and men as well as public representatives, he said. [no closing quotation marks as received]

China

Soviet-PRC Symposium on Economic Reform Held

Cooperation Prospects Discussed

OW1602030590 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 8 Feb 90

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] For many socialist countries which are in the process of transformation, the issue of the economic reform is a pressing one. The Soviet-Chinese forum on economic reform, which is scheduled to open in Moscow on 12 February, will discuss this pressing issue.

(Jibinjiyev), member of the preparatory committee for the forum, said that this is the first time such a forum is being held in the Soviet Union. At the meeting, noted Soviet and Chinese scholars will discuss such problems as the current situation in economic reform and its prospects. They will explore ways for rapid and stable development of the economy in both countries. These problems are of great concern to both Soviet and Chinese experts as well as to the general public.

It has been 10 years since China embarked on economic reform. The Soviet Union is in its fifth year of economic reform. I think that the two neighboring countries can exchange experience by taking into account the special characteristics and the situation in the development of the two countries.

The main problems to be discussed at the forum will be: reform of the structure of the economy, the emergence of a socialist market, and the ways to stimulate enthusiasm for production and encourage creativity.

(Jibinjiyev) said: I think that the Soviet Union can learn a constructive lesson from China. The first lesson to be drawn is how to produce more consumer goods and satisfy the citizens' need for daily necessities. In just several years of time, China's rural areas have undergone tremendous changes. Reform is largely the reason for these changes. China could teach Soviet experts the precious experience it accumulated in the course of reform.

Holding a joint forum for scientific experimentation is one good way to exchange experience. The topic of socialist theory will be brought up at the roundtable meeting for the first time. It will be interesting to watch the discussion on the role and function of planned economy in the new economic structure. Inflation will also be a subject for discussion.

(Jibinjiyev) continued: Without a doubt, the prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and China will be the main issue to be discussed at the forum. Ties between us should evolve from foreign trade in general to a deeper level of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, because we share the same goals in making progress, that is, to renew socialism and improve the people's lives. Therefore, we should discuss at the meeting the subject of how one side can complement the other side. It is hoped that the suggestions advanced by the scholars will be adopted and become the basis for taking concrete steps in the future.

'New Stage of Cooperation'

OW1902105590 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] The first Soviet-Chinese discussion on economic reform closed in Moscow on 15 February. Some 50 well-known Soviet economists attended the meeting. They discussed with their Chinese counterparts such questions as economic planning, commodity price reform, the system of pricing, independent enterprise operation, rural economy, and the prospects for Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation.

Academician (Stanislav Shatalin), head of the Soviet delegation, said in his speech at the closing ceremony: The discussion marks a new stage of cooperation between Soviet and Chinese scholars.

Liu Guoguang, head of the Chinese delegation and vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, expressed his belief that the two sides should conduct academic exchanges like this one. He invited Soviet economists to visit China and to hold the next meeting there.

Vasilyev Reports on Ceremony

OW1902114990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The first seminar on economic reform in the Soviet Union and China began in Moscow on 13 February. Station reporter Vasilyev attended the opening ceremony. The following is his report:

Within three days over 50 Soviet and Chinese economists will discuss planned economy, independent management of enterprises, agricultural economy, price reform, the setting of prices, the prospects for Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation, and other questions. Academician (Shatalin), head of the Soviet delegation to the seminar, delivered the opening address.

He said: I think it is no exaggeration to say that this seminar will play a great role in the development of Soviet-Chinese relations and Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation.

On the direction for the development of the economies of the Soviet Union and China, (Shatalin) said that this depends to a large extent on the development of Soviet-Chinese relations, on the frank and sincere discussions and evaluations of the economies of the two countries, and on more trust between them.

He thanked the Chinese economists for agreeing to participate in this bilateral seminar and expressed the hope that the seminar will be successful academically and be mutually beneficial in practical terms.

After that, Liu Guoguang, vice president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and head of the Chinese delegation of economists, addressed the seminar. The following is excerpts of his speech.

[Begin Liu recording] Dear comrades, this seminar to discuss the reform of the economic systems of China and the Soviet Union opened solemnly here today as a result the common efforts of the scholars of our two countries, and especially as a result of the painstaking arrangements made by the chairman of this seminar and other Soviet comrades. First of all, I want to wish the seminar complete success. I also want to take this opportunity to extend our sincere gratitude to the Soviet Academy of Sciences on behalf of the delegation of economists from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and comrades of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences who are attending the seminar. I want to thank you for inviting us and for giving us a chance to visit our great friendly neighbor, the Soviet Union, and also to discuss and exchange experience in China and the Soviet Union in the reform of economic systems. Academic exchanges between Chinese and Soviet economists began a long time ago, but new headway has been made in the past few years. However, this is the first time the economists of the two countries are holding such a large-scale bilateral academic seminar to discuss a broad range of topics. Both countries are now engaged in restructuring their socialist economic systems. Success in this reform is of great significance for the self-improvement of the socialist system and for bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist system. At the same time, we hope, through this seminar, to get a better understanding of the reform in the Soviet Union and of its reform experiences, and to sit down with Soviet comrades to discuss and study questions of common interest. We believe that this seminar will further strengthen the mutual understanding between the scholars of our two countries, enhance the traditional friendship between the peoples of our two countries, and boost economic structural reforms in our two countries. [end recording]

After he delivered the address, Liu Guoguang made a report on 10 years of economic reform and the current adjustment in China.

Soviet Academician (Aganbigeyang) and other scholars delivered reports at the seminar.

Chinese Workers in Soviet Union Estimated

OW1702134990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 14 Feb 90

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] According to contracts signed between the Soviet Union and China, there are now about 15,000 Chinese workers in the Soviet Union. As compensation for the labor, the Soviet Union supplies China with building materials, chemical fertilizers, and other commodities. This form of economic contact has benefited both sides. The cooperation can improve the living standards of Chinese citizens working abroad, according to a representative of China's Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade.

Northeast Asia

New 'Mongolian Democratic Party' Inaugurated

OW1902030090 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Premier Sodnom of Mongolia, in an interview with a Japanese reporter in Ulaanbaatar, said that the one-party rule of the [Mongolian] People's Revolutionary Party will probably be abolished in Mongolia. Political reform will be carried out in order to establish a multiparty system in Mongolia, he said.

Meanwhile, the inaugural assembly for a new political organization, the Mongolian Democratic Party, was held in Ulaanbaatar. According to a spokesman of the Mongolian Democratic Party, this party is willing to have dialogue with the People's Revolution Party on all basic problems of social development.

The spokesman, on the other hand, noted that the Mongolian Democratic Party has a stand completely different from that of the People's Revolutionary Party as far as diplomatic policies are concerned.

Commentary Views Japan's Defense Buildup Program

OW1202140290 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Following the general election, Japan's Defense Agency will hold its council meeting to study the next defense buildup program. Radio Moscow military commentator Kalinin writes as follows:

Since Japan's mid-term defense buildup program will come to an end this year, the Defense Agency is now working out the next defense buildup program, which will start in 1991. Not only the Japanese political circles but also its neighboring nations have indicated great interest in what will be included in the program. There are certainly good reasons for them to have such an interest in the progrram.

Today, international tension has been defused and the military confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States has been downgraded. Under such circumstances, it should naturally be felt that Japan will make due changes to its military policies so as to meet the trend of the times. In working out the next defense buildup program, Japan has taken into account this defusion of international tension. Such an approach has gained increasingly extensive support in various circles in Japan.

However, it is a different at the Japanese Defense Agency. Judging from reports from Tokyo, the Defense Agency does not want to abandon its defense buildup plan. As is known to all, the level of Japan's defense capability has gradually but greatly surpassed the military capability needed to defend Japan proper.

Let us cite a few examples: YOMIURI SHIMBUN writes that one feature of Japan's policies for the 1990's is that, while giving up the plan to rapidly repulse an invasion of Japan, Japan has now switched to the strategy of resorting to preemptive operations. In more concrete terms, this means that Japanese forces will be granted the right to take combat actions first and also to take such initiative even in locations outside Japan.

For this purpose, it is expected that ground-to-vessel cruise missiles will be deployed in Hokkaido, and refuelling aircraft and aircraft with airborne warning and control systems [AWACS] will be procured for the Air Self-Defense Forces. Both air tankers and AWACS are capable of considerably expanding the sphere of action and extending the flying distance for aircraft.

What has also aroused attention is the fact that the planners of the next defense buildup program are attempting to secure live firing grounds in foreign lands to conduct long-distance weapons or rocket launching exercises, and also to expand a network of training grounds for the Self-Defense Forces.

When we understand this program, we naturally have the following question: What is the major principle on which the planners have worked out this program? In reply to this question, Japanese militarists have unanimously answered that the program is necessary to counter the Soviet threat that does not merely exist but has been intensified. Such an excuse will lose its persuasiveness as time goes by.

Soviet troop strength, including the troops in the Soviet Far East, has been unilaterally reduced by a large margin; the intermediate nuclear forces will be completely abolished; the number of vessels of the Pacific Fleet will be reduced and its operational capability will be reduced; and TU-16 bombers, as well as MiG-23 fighters, will be withdrawn from Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay. If such facts are remembered, then it is clear that there is no credibility at all to the argument about the Soviet threat.

If one keeps all the above facts in mind, one cannot but approve of the report published in the January issue of the British magazine, THE BRITISH DEFENSE WEEKLY, in which it is clearly pointed out that the fabricated story about a Soviet threat has been composed to justify Japan's defense buildup program. It is quite evident that the insistence on the past military policy based on the fabricated story about the Soviet threat runs counter to the development of the international situation today. The British newspaper THE TIMES pointed out recently that it has now become clear that Japan is the last soldier in the cold war.

Japan's International Role in 1990s Viewed

OW1202131090 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev states his views on Japan's general election and its international role as follows:

What role will Japan play in the world of the 1990's? The answer largely depends on the results of the Lower House election scheduled for 18 February. It seems that the election outcome depends on candidates' political views on foreign affairs. The televised discussion held by top leaders of Japan's major political parties on 5 February imparted this impression. In this discussion, great attention was paid to international issues. It seems to have reflected well the current situation prior to the election.

It is true that Japanese voters have come to show greater interest in the international situation now undergoing drastic changes, and that they have indicated greater concern about politicians' approaches to these changes. In the debate, Prime Minister Kaifu stated that Japan must take a positive role in creating a new international order in line with the changing international situation. He also confirmed the Liberal Democratic Party's [LDP] positive appraisal of the global trend toward the defusion of tension, as indicated by the Soviet-U.S. summit talks held on Malta which are believed to indicate an end to the cold war.

Naturally, such an appraisal will not arouse opposition. However, the point is how and what concrete foreign policies will be promoted in line with this positive appraisal? To create a nation which will not be behind the times in dealing with international relations now at a standstill, it is sufficient to merely watch for the turn of events and then decide on an approach. But the situation has changed now. In considering the rapidly changing world situation, it should be noted that any delay in action may cost.

As a result of Japan taking its own peculiarly ambiguous approach, the Asia and Pacific region had fallen behind in the trend of easing the tension between East and West. On the other hand, refusing to look at the USSR's peace efforts in Asia, Japan has continued to increase its military spending at a rapid pace.

The Soviet Government has signed a treaty on completely abolishing intermediate nuclear forces, and has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan. It has announced unilateral reduction of its troops by 120,000 in the Soviet Far East, and it has recently announced the reduction of the Soviet military presence in Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay. Despite all these efforts on the Soviet part, the Japanese Government's position on the security issue has remained unchanged. Japan seems to be maintaining its position adopted during the cold war.

Prime Minister Kaifu's recent visits to various European nations, as well as the support for prodemocracy movements in East Europe that he expressed during his visits, have become very remarkable moves of the conservative administration in its attempt to activate diplomatic efforts. These moves may have evoked a favorable impressions among eligible Japanese voters.

However, facts are facts. [words indistinct] It is quite obvious that in promoting its relations with East Europe, the Japanese Government has been able to encroach only into the central part of Europe. The fact that policies similar to European policies have been positively promoted in the Far East indicates that progress has been made in appoaches taken toward the Asia-Pacific region.

Meanwhile, the opposition parties indicate their intention to take a united approach in dealing with Asian issues. Chairperson Doi of the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] has criticized the LDP's passive approach toward the strengthening of peace in Asia, but has called on Japan, the United States, Canada, China, and South and North Korea to make collective efforts to strengthen regional security and stability.

In the debate, top leaders of other opposition parties maintained that Japan should take the initiative in promoting the cause of defusing tension in the Asia-Pacific region. As one measure for this purpose, the JSP intends to rely on freezing military expenditures. On the whole, top opposition leaders have indicated a positive approach toward the [words indistinct] policy. However, they have not put forward any far-sighted or detailed programs. Moreover, as is known to all, these parties have differing views on several issues on foreign affairs, including on the Japan-U.S. security agreement. Perhaps they have intentionally avoided discussing these issues in front of eligible voters.

Judging from what has been stated so far, it can be concluded that the opposition parties give priority to the strengthening of security in the Asia - Pacific region not through military but political measures, and that they will be ready to take positive action in this regard if they should come to power. It goes without saying that such action will be in the interests of Japan and its neighbors.

Japan Celebrates 'Northern Territories Day'

OW1202023490 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Tokyo corrrespondent Potapov report]

[Text] Japan's Northern Territories Day falls on 7 February. In this connection, Radio Moscow Tokyo correspondent Potapov has filed the following report:

The roads to the Soviet Embassy building located in Minato Ward in Tokyo were blocked on the morning of 7 February. The number of police officers stationed at the embassy gate was increased, and reinforcement units were put on standby in the neighborhood. These measures were taken as a precaution against possible intrusion by ultrarightist organizations. Every year, ultrarightists demonstrate in the environs of the embassy on 7 February, the so-called Northern Territories Day.

The so-called Northern Territories is the four islands of the Kurile group suitable for fishing. Japan is demanding the return of these four islands. By sponsoring official activities, the Japanese Government has given status to Northern Territories Day. This year, Japan marks its 10th Northern Territories Day. The objective in celebrating this day is to expand among the Japanese people this campaign of claiming the return of territories aimed at the Soviet Union. Just as was done on Northern Territories Day in past years, a meeting was held at the Kudan Hall in Tokyo on 7 February, with influential government officials and Dietmen attending. This meeting is a main event of Northern Territories Day.

Those people who were responsible for organizing activities this year set their eyes on the younger generation, in particular. A snow festival, aimed at the younger generation, is currently held in Sapporo, and a large-scale campaign was held there to collect signatures under the slogan of "Hand over the Northern Territories to Japan held by the Soviet Union."

Judging from the thinking of the people who are participating in the campaign to demand the return of the Northern Territories, the residents have recently lost their interest in this issue. We can think of several reasons why they have lost interest. One is that they have confidence in remarkably improving relations between our two nations.

Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev is scheduled to pay a visit to Japan in 1991. A Soviet parliamentary delegation, headed by Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo, visited Japan last November, and the delegation proposed a third method for settling the territorial issue. This third method suggests that our two nations should extensively conduct constructive dialogue with the aim of creating an atmosphere in which the problem, which has been hitherto regarded as difficult, can be settled in an easy and natural way.

Another reason why the people have lost their interest is because it is on their own accord that the people have taken action connected with the Northern Territories, but it was because of instructions from the above that they have done so. Furthermore, the younger generation has become rather negative to the actions taken by the older generation.

Further on 'Northern Territories Day'

OW1602014690 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Japan celebrates its so-called Northern Territories Day on 7 February. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev holds the following view:

KYODO NEWS AGENCY has reported that activities were held throughout Japan. However, judging from the reports filed from Japan, it seems that the people's enthusiasm in marking this Northern Territories Day has gradually decreased, and ceremonies have now become more and more routine. In his interview with SANKEI SHIMBUN on the following day, 8 February, Japanese Foreign Minister Nakayama virtually admitted such a phenomenon, and pointed out that the campaign to demand the return of the northern territories had failed to arouse concern among all the people.

Furthermore, the tendency for people to lose their enthusiasm about the activities related to Northern Territories Day has clearly proved that Japanese society has now come to realize that it would not work to impose pressure on the Soviet Union for the purpose of changing borders. It must have resulted from provocative [words indistinct]. Whatever the reason, it is quite evident that an attempt to incite hostility against a neighboring country by activities connected with Northern Territories Day does not comply at all with the current process of gradually improving the relations between our two nations. Judging from a report published in the 8 February edition of ASAHI SHIMBUN, the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] leadership seems to have made such an evaluation of the activities held on Northern Territories Day.

According to a TASS report, the changes occuring in the world every day have had a certain influence on the activities of Northern Territories Day. In his speech, delivered at Kudan Hall in Tokyo, Prime Minister Kaifu stated that changes taking place in Europe should also be promoted in the Asian-Pacific region. He also touched on promoting new relations, based on stability and mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Japan, and also on concluding a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. However, he also brought up a precondition that the territorial issue must be settled first. In other words, he vitually reiterated the position that the Japanese Government had hitherto maintained. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Kaifu's speech delivered on Northern Territories Day seems to actually indicate a new atmosphere in Soviet-Japanese relations created since late 1988 through efforts on both sides. Taking into account the fact that the speech was delivered on Northern Territories Day, we can say that his speech was rather reserved, but fairly positive.

Meanwhile, we can also feel this new atmosphere in bilateral relations in the Soviet Union. Without this new atmosphere, we could hardly think of proposals for various solutions to the territorial issue coming from famous Soviet politicians or people's deputies. Furthermore, if an atmosphere, not of composed dialogue, but of strong rhetoric and bureaucratic consultation, should persist in the relations between our two nations, would it have been possible that these proposals could have been made?

Japanese official representatives are emphasizing that the proposals made by Soviet academicians, parliamentarians, or political commentators merely reflect their own personal views. We cannot avoid noticing that such proposals as those made by Mr. (Grishin), Mr. Yeltsin, and the late Mr. Sakharov have called on the Soviet public opinion to take Japan's argument into consideration. However, the greatest advantage that has resulted from the efforts made in improving the bilateral relations during the past year or so seems to lie in the forming of an attitude that it is not sufficient to merely reiterate the past position, but to take the other side's interests into consideration in one way or another.

Such an atmosphere was prevalent when Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee's Politburo, visited Japan last November, and also when Mr. Shintaro Abe, former general secretary of the LDP, visited the Soviet Union not long ago. The strengthening of an atmosphere of mutual understanding has made it possible for our two nations to reach an accord on President Gorbachev's visit to Japan next year.

It is hard to predict here and now when and how the development of dialogue between our two nations will influence the state of the territorial issue. However, it is beyond any doubt that it will be far easier to settle whatever the problem under a mental attitude not of confrontation and distrust, but of mutual understanding and goodneighborliness. It seems that our both sides have learned that we should not stick to our position, but to also listen to the opinion of the other side. In this connection, now that the first step has been taken, we hope that Soviet-Japanese relations will take such a course, so that the interests of the peoples of our two nations can be promoted.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Ryzhkov's Official Visit to Singapore Reported

Lee Gives Pre-Visit Interview

LD1602211090 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 15 Feb 90

["Singaporan Prime Minister Gives Interview to TASS"—TASS headline]

[Text] Singapore February 15 TASS—Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew described prospects for the relations between the Soviet Union and Singapore as "very good."

He told TASS the forthcoming visit by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov to Singapore "is an indication of the totally changed relationship." Ryzhkov's visit to Singapore is the result of a totally changed international situation, the outcome of President Gorbachev's new thinking and new policies—glasnost and perestroyka.

"We all have an interest in a successful and peaceful outcome to perestroyka and glasnost," Lee Kuan Yew continued. Its curtailment would lead to very grave misgivings and grave tensions. "If a great power like the Soviet Union with nuclear weapons is in turmoil, it will cause grave concern to all countries in the world."

It is very difficult to say what the world will be in the year 2000. Singapore can only prosper if the international situation allows it to succeed. "I hope that perestroyka and glasnost succeed, which means that there will be a peaceful world. A lot of money that has gone into armaments will go into economic exchanges between nations. This will lead to a more peaceful and a more abundant world," the prime minister told TASS.

Lee Kuan Yew did not rule out the possibility of the Soviet Union joining APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Council], designed to serve the goals of economic integration in the region. An APEC meeting in Canberra last November, he said, marked an important stage towards closer consultation and coordination. APEC will not become a protectionist organisation. It will become a consultative body with open membership.

Speaking about economic integration in the Asia-Pacific region, the Singapore prime minister noted that the Soviet Union's participation depends on how it will "resolve its basic perestroyka policies".

"But I do not not see the Soviet economy, as it is, without going into a free market economy, being able to gear in with the APEC countries," the prime minister continued. "Trade has been very limited or insignificant from our point of view because the trade has been done through government agencies. You have your own export agencies, and we have our own import agencies. The products cannot meet the competition of the market because it is not suited for the market. So the first step will have to be progress in perestroyka into free market products. Then it will compete and fit into the pattern of trade in the Asia-Pacific region."

Speaking about the situation in the region, particularly, the situation in Cambodia, the prime minister gave a positive assessment of the meeting of the five permanent members of the Security Council in Paris and then in New York. He expressed the hope that an interim U.N. Administration will be set up in Cambodia and conduct free and fair elections. That will solve the Cambodian issue, and it will no longer hold the Indochinese countries apart from the ASEAN countries.

ASEAN countries, the prime minister said, will have to deal with both economic problems and political issues, as it has been doing previously. "The two are interrelated. The future is do different from the past because the world has undergone a tremendous transformation. The solidarity of the Western group of countries will not be the same now that there is no Eastern bloc to threaten them. So there will be more rivalries over economic interests between the Americans, the West Europeans, the Japanese. That creates a new environment for ASEAN, because when they were united, having to face a Soviet threat, they favoured us because we were on their side. Now they don't need to have us on their side because there's nobody against them. So this creates a new environment in which the political background is as important as the economic issues," Lee Kuan Yew stressed.

Lee on Prospects for Cooperation

PM1602164390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Interview With the Prime Minister of Singapore"]

[Text] Singapore, 15 Feb—Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew has described as very good the prospects for developing relations between Singapore and the Soviet Union. He said that USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov's upcoming visit to Singapore is evidence of the radical changes that already have occurred in bilateral relations. The visit to our country by the head of the Soviet Government, the Singapore leader said in an interview with a TASS correspondent, resulted from a totally altered international situation and the policy of new thinking and glasnost conducted by M.S. Gorbachev.

We are all committed, the prime minister said, to the successful, peaceful completion of the process of perestroyka and glasnost, because its curtailment would result in serious unpleasantness and a sharp increase in tension. If unrest were to occur in a great power like the Soviet Union, which possesses nuclear weapons, it would cause great anxiety among all the countries of the world.

It is very hard to say what the world will be like by 2000, Lee Kuan Yew noted. Singapore will thrive only if the international situation enables it to do so. I hope that the process of perestroyka and glasnost will be successful and will mean that we will live in peace. Considerable amounts of money that used to be spent on arms production will be channeled into the development of trade between peoples. This will strengthen peace and improve the general well-being.

Lee Kuan Yew did not rule out the possibility of the Soviet Union's future membership of the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum [APEF], whose job is to promote economic integration in the region. The APEF members' meeting in Canberra last November, he said, was an important step in the direction of developing closer consultations and coordination among the participating states. The APEF will not become a protectionist organization, the head of the Singapore Government insisted. It will be a consultative organ and membership will be open to everyone.

Talking about the process of economic integration in the Asian-Pacific region, the Singapore leader noted that the Soviet Union's involvement in it depends on the way the main tasks of perestroyka are tackled. At the moment, he said, the Soviet economy, not being a market economy, cannot link up with the APEF countries. Trade with the Soviet Union has been very limited and meager from our viewpoint, he pointed out, because it has been conducted by Soviet state institutions. Your goods cannot compete on the market, because they are not suitable. With the switch to a free market, Soviet goods will become competitive and will meet the requirements of the Asia-Pacific region market, Lee Kuan Yew said.

Touching on the situation in the region, in particular the Cambodian situation, the Singapore premier gave a positive assessment of the meeting of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, first in Paris and then in New York. I am hoping, he stressed, to see a temporary UN administration set up in Cambodia which will conduct free and fair elections. This will resolve the Cambodian issue, and it will not divide the countries of Indochina and the ASEAN states.

The ASEAN countries will still have to deal with political as well as economic issues, the prime minister said. They are interrelated. But the future is different from the past because there have been enormous changes in the world. The unity of the Western group of countries cannot retain its previous form, because there is no longer an Eastern bloc to threaten it. Therefore, economic rivalry among Americans, West Europeans, and Japanese will increase. This will create a new atmosphere for ASEAN, since because of the absence of a Soviet threat the Western countries no longer need us. As a result conditions are being created in which the political foundation is as important for ASEAN as economic questions.

TV Reports Ryzhkov's Arrival

LD1602203190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Begin correspondent V. Ilyashenko recording] Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov arrived in Singapore on an official visit. [video shows residence of President, Ryzhkov standing for the national anthems and then reviewing the honor guard] The official welcoming ceremony for the head of the USSR Government took place at the Istana Palace, the residence of the republic's president. He was warmly greeted by Singapore's Prime

Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who is called a record-holder among present leaders. Lee Kuan Yew has been leading the government now for almost 30 years. There have been not all that many years of relations between our countries, if one considers that Singapore only acquired independence in 1965. But trade and economic links have a sound basis and are developing dynamically.

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov paid a courtesy visit to Wee Kim Wee, the president of the country. [video of President Wee and Ryzhkov meeting] He is a journalist by profession and has been president of this city state for five years now.

Here, too, in the President's Palace, where the chancellory of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew is located, a conversation took place between the heads of government of the two countries. [video shows meeting]

Soviet-Singapore talks then began. [video shows delegations holding talks at negotiating table]. They focussed on questions concerning expansion of the trade and economic contacts between our countries. After all, Singapore is one of the leading states of Southeast Asia in the development of science-intensive branches of industry, particularly electronics, and television and radio communications.

This small republic, which is located at the junction of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean, and which has a population of just 2.5 million people, occupies second place in Asia after Japan in per capita GNP. [video shows street scenes]

In the evening, at the Istana Palace, an agreement was signed on the formation of a joint Soviet-Singapore commission for trade and economic and scientific-technical cooperation. This agreement will place economic contacts between our countries on a more lasting basis. [video shows agreement being signed, with Ryzhkov looking on] [end recording]

Ryzhkov Meets President, Premier

LD1602163990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1512 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Singapore, 16 Feb (TASS special correspondent)—N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Singapore on an official visit, was received today by the country's president, Wee Kim Wee. A mutual desire for the strengthening and development of Soviet-Singapore relations was expressed during the conversation.

The head of the Soviet Government also held detailed talks with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, during which a meaningful exchange of opinions took place on various aspects of Soviet-Singapore relations and also on topical international problems of interest to both sides.

The leaders of the two governments noted the important significance of renewing the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Singapore at a governmental level. They also expressed satisfaction with the activization of bilateral ties and contacts that has been taking place in various areas in recent years, and they expressed support for the further deepening and diversification of Soviet-Singapore cooperation. Much attention in this context was devoted to the prospects for trade and economic links between the two countries.

An agreement setting up an intergovernmental Soviet-Singapore commission on the development of trade and economic, scientific, and technical cooperation was signed in the presence of the heads of the two governments.

Singapore's prime minister highly appraised the principles of the new political thinking and the results of the implementation of these.

On the Soviet side, attention was drawn to the need for the states of the region to intensify efforts in the search for ways of reducing tension and establishing a multilateral talks process here. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers stated the Soviet Union's intention to take a more active part in the processes of Asian and Pacific economic cooperation. He stressed the importance of observing the principles of openness and non-discrimination in the development of integrational processes in the Asian and Pacific region.

The Soviet side stated its readiness to begin consultations on the basic components of the concept of a nuclear free zone in Southeast Asia, as this is being proposed by the countries of ASEAN.

Lee Delivers Address at Dinner

PM1902162190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report of speech by Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew at a dinner 16 February for N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, under the general heading: "N.I. Ryzhkov's Stay in Singapore"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister and Mrs. Ryzhkov!

Ladies and gentlemen!

I are very pleased to cordially welcome you, Mr. Chairman, your wife, and the members of your delegation. Your visit—the first visit by a chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers—is a great honor for the government and people of Singapore.

Our countries are very different from one another. Your population is more than 100 times greater than that of Singapore. The Soviet Union's territory stretches over 11 time zones. We have different economic, social, and political systems. Nevertheless we are united by our common desire for peace and a good life for our peoples on this planet, which is becoming increasingly vulnerable.

I am glad that a step forward has been been taken in our bilateral relations thanks to your visit. Today we signed an agreement to set up a Soviet-Singapore intergovernmental commission on the development of trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation. We are also willing to consider the question of concluding agreements with the Soviet Union on guaranteeing investments and avoiding double taxation. We are prepared to express the firm intention to develop our economic cooperation and offer support to perestroyka.

Far as we are from Moscow, we also wish perestroyka success. We watched with delight and amazement the new political thinking smash barriers in Europes—barriers which previously seemed to have been erected forever. Even last November I would not have believed it if you had told me that the Berlin wall would fall in December. But this has happened. The European political map has changed. Further changes will occur. We hope that this new era will bring with it a better life for the "common European home" that you are now trying to build.

The problems of perestroyka and glasnost are obviously very serious. However, the history of the Soviet people and their society is one of great determination. Throughout history, during the "Time of Troubles" in the 17th century, during Napoleon's invasion of Russia in the 19th century, and during the Great Patriotic War in the 20th century when Hitler displayed complete lack of understanding of Soviet people's staunch dogged character, the Soviet people showed that even if they change only slowly, they must not be underestimated once they have embarked on the path of change.

The strain of the "cold war" period was felt most acutely in Europe. But no military conflagration has flared up there since World War II. In this time more people have died in Southeast Asia than in Europe. Even today the flame of war has still not been fully quelled in this region. Cambodia is still the victim of it. We sincerely hope that the Soviet Union will help extinguish these last smoldering embers since it helped persuade Vietnam that a new era has begun in the world. Vietnam must stop its regrettable involvement in events in Cambodia, which has been in progress since December 1978, and set about building a better life for its people in conjunction with the ASEAN countries. Singapore is prepared to play its role in Indochina after the Cambodian conflict is settled by an accord to set up a provisional UN administration, which will be followed by free honest elections under UN control.

The Asia-Pacific basin is ready for lift-off. Inspired by Japan's brilliant success, the countries of Eastern and Southeast Asia are confident that they can enter the 21st century with high growth rates. Determination and confidence in their ability for rapid economic transformation prevail here.. As Moscow implements its "new political thinking" in its new policy toward the Asia-Pacific region—unlike its previous policy—we expect the Soviet Union to take part in this region's rapid growth.

However, these trends presuppose the absence of sudden political and military upheavals. Historically the United States was the stabilizing factor in the Pacific Ocean basin. The United States is a Pacific power, whose constant presence will help strengthen the stability on whose basis the Pacific Ocean countries' economies will develop. Despite the fact that the Atlantic Ocean separates the continents of Europe and North America, the Soviet Union stresses the need for the presence of the United States and Canada in the "common European home." For that reason the U.S. presence must be preserved in the Asia-Pacific region to ensure peace and stability.

In conclusion, Mr. Prime Minister, I ask you on your return to Moscow to say that all Singapore's inhabitants wish you success. A new era began in world history with the advent of perestroyka. Please tell President Gorbachev that the bold revolutionary changes which he has already implemented have made a profound impression on us and we wish him further success.

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, now allow me to propose a toast to the health of President Gorbachev and our honored guests Mr. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mrs. Ryzhkov and to success for the USSR Government and peoples.

Ryzhkov Gives Speech at Dinner

PM1802210090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 90 p 4

[TASS report on a speech by N.I. Rzykov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on 16 February at a dinner in Singapore: "N.I. Ryzhkov's Speech"]

[Text] We were looking forward to our visit to Singapore with great interest, and we are sincerely grateful to our hosts for their attentiveness and cordiality. Singapore is known in the world today as a highly-developed country which, thanks to its persistent efforts and initiative, has succeeded in finding its place in the international division of labor and in creating a dynamic and efficient economy. It is for this reason that it plays a notable role not just in the Asian-Pacific region, but also in world trade generally.

A number of historic reasons decreed that, for a long time, the Soviet Union develope its economy in an introverted manner. Its external ties fell far short of its powerful economic potential. The political situation, too, was responsible for this, for in a world divided into two camps there was no trust, but instead there was confrontation, a "cold war," tension, and an arms race.

Time moved on and the situation changed. The accumulation of nuclear weapons made the arms race pointless. The internal development of the Soviet Union came more and more insistently to demand active interaction with the outside world—broad interaction, rather than interaction restricted to trade.

And that's how perestroyka began. It was a fundamentally new political course aimed at radical change in all aspects of Soviet society. In the economy, this meant developing initiative and creating in people an interest in the results of their labor, and that is the main condition of success and prosperity.

In politics, this meant the creation of a truly law-governed state possessing a mechanism of political responsibility and acting on a democratic basis.

The elaboration of the theoretical foundations and ideology of perestroyka and its practical implementation is a process of enormous complexity. It is no wonder that the progress of perestroyka is difficult and is accompanied by contradictions, friction, and clashes of opinions and interests which sometimes acquire quite acute forms. But nevertheless, the main characteristic of this process is that the vast majority of Soviet people believe that without perestroyka there is no future, without perestroyka there will be no dynamically developing Soviet Union.

Perestroyka is our internal process, it is the revolutionary form of Soviet society. But at the same time it has already had and continues to have a powerful beneficial influence on international relations. This is because in the foreign policy sphere the course of perestroyka is based on the new political thinking. Its finds real expression in the changes in the Soviet military doctrine, which has acquired a defensive character, the first practical steps in the disarmament sphere, and the ever increasing trust in relations between states of different military-political blocs.

The perestroyka processes are having equally important consequences in the sphere of international economic relations, too. The modern world now stands on the threshold of the greatest structural changes in technology, science, and production. And those changes will undoubtedly require new approaches to the problems of sales and marketing and the problems of finding markets. The course now being implemented by the Soviet Union and the East European countries aimed at consistent involvement in the international division of labor creates qualitatively new factors in that respect.

The Soviet Union is a vast economic entity and in the foreseeable future will be transformed into one of the world's largest and most promising markets.

We are at the beginning of that road today. But we are already witnessing fundamental changes right now. The monopoly of state trade has ceased to play the determining role in developing the USSR's foreign economic ties. The right to conduct export and import operations may be granted to any Soviet firm, association, or enterprise. More than 12,000 Soviet organizations and enterprises are already engaging in foreign trade now. Whereas previously, business relations with the Soviet Union were confined, as a rule, to trade alone, now in accordance with the new laws around 1,400 firms have already been created with the help of foreign capital in the USSR.

Of course, quite a few difficulties are arising here. There are a number of obstacles which have not been removed, but work is constantly going on to surmount them and to create the appropriate climate for investment. Moreover, the more active our foreign partners are in this matter, the more rapidly will the proper conditions for fruitful and mutually profitable cooperation be created.

Singapore perhaps may be described as a pioneer in this regard. However, the situation has now undergone a qualitative change. The opportunity has been created for an active search for profitable spheres for capital investment and for cooperation based upon making use of the Soviet Union's scientific and technical potential. The results of the recent Soviet industrial exhibition in Singapore are a further confirmation of this.

If the Soviet Union sees itself as an integral part of the world economy or, at least, is preparing to become such, it does not do so simply from any subjective motives. It is proceeding from objective reality—the integrity, mutual linkage, and mutual dependence of the present-day world.

Realization of this reality has enabled us to look afresh at the major targets and goals of Soviet foreign policy. In an integrated and interdependent world which possesses a huge potential for self-destruction, disputes between states can no longer be resolved with the use of military force. It is the force of reason and political methods of settling differences of opinion that are becoming the means of doing so. It is for this reason that the Soviet Union put forward a program of universal and total disarmament and is undertaking practical steps to prevent the nuclear threat. The treaty between the USSR and United States on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles is in force. Soviet-U.S. talks are under way on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons, on banning chemical weapons and destroying stockpiles of them, on ceasing nuclear tests, and on limiting conventional weapons, among other things.

As for our policy in the Asian and Pacific region, we are in favor of it becoming a zone of stable peace and broad, mutually profitable cooperation. Steps are being taken on reducing the Soviet Armed Forces in the Asian part of the USSR and our military presence in the People's Republic of Mongolia and Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. We came forward with the initiative of starting a concrete discussion on the problem of limiting naval weapons in the region.

Our foreign policy is a reflection of the ideas of perestroyka in international affairs; it is an acknowledgement of the priority of pan-human values and of freedom of social and political choice for peoples. I will allow myself to cite in this connection the statement by the esteemed Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew made in one of his latest interviews: "I pin my hopes on the success of the policy of glasnost and perestroyka, since this means peace in the world. The huge sums of money earmarked for armaments will be used to develop economic cooperation between peoples. This will lead to peace and prosperity on earth."

Expressing my gratitude for such an evaluation, I want to say that our visit to Singapore, too, is part of this policy. Despite all the differences between them, our countries, as participants in the world's community, have interests in common, both in the field of politics and in economics. These interests form the real basis on which it is possible to attain mutually beneficial and equal cooperation between us for the benefit of the peoples of both countries. I think that such an approach is acceptable for Singapore, too, since it gives unilateral advantages to no one, while the profit can only be mutual.

The USSR and Singapore belong to the same region—the Asian and Pacific Basin region. And this enables us to seek and find points of contact in the approaches of both countries to the urgent requirements of the states situated here and in the search for balanced solutions.

One of the assets of recent years is undoubtedly the substantial expansion in our ties with Singapore and other ASEAN member-states. In many respects this was fostered by the fact that established stereotypes such as "the image of the enemy," "the Soviet threat," and so on are receding into the past, and by the fact that we increasingly see in one another partners and amicable neighbors.

Favorable preconditions are taking shape for removing the causes that have until now hampered rapprochement between two groups of states—between the three countries of Indochina and ASEAN. In this context, I would especially like to note that because of the efforts of both groups, the movement is continuing towards the concluding stage of a Cambodian settlement. The USSR is prepared to contribute its share to promote moving towards a just, mutually acceptable decision on the basis of a balance of interests, sensible compromises, and taking into account the realities that have formed in Indochina. We sincerely wish success to the regional meeting in Jakarta, taking place within the framework of the Paris conference on Cambodia, scheduled for the end of February.

We are convinced that the unraveling of the Cambodian knot will lead to further detente in Southeast Asia and clear the path to implementing the idea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality with nonnuclear status. The Soviet Union completely supports these conceptions and is prepared to assist in their implementation.

At the same time, we are well aware of those regional problems in which so far there has been no real progress—first, the high level of militarization, the amassing here of nuclear weapons, the activeness of naval forces, and so on. We confirm our point of view on the importance of creating a multilateral talks mechanism in the Asia-Pacific region that would allow each state in the region to participate in discussing the region's problems and their settlement.

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, in conclusion, I want to thank you for the businesslike, constructive atmosphere at the talks that took place here today, for your friendly speech, and for the respect shown toward our country and its people. You can be sure that we always return one good deed with another.

I propose a toast to the health of the prime minister, Mrs. Lee Kuan Yew, and all those present, to the further progress of Singapore, and to close cooperation and mutual understanding between our countries.

The dinner was held in an atmosphere of amicability and mutual understanding.

Last Day Activities Reported

LD1702180890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] We begin the round up of international affairs with Singapore. Today is the concluding day of the visit by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov to that country.

[V. Ilyashenko] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today familiarized himself with the Telecom telecommunications center of Singapore. [video shows Ryzhkov being greeted by officials and shown around inside a building marked Comcenter] Here he was warmly welcomed by Mah Bow Tan, state minister of trade and industry, and by the leaders of the company. The Soviet guest was told that Singapore occupies one of the leading places in the world in terms of the level of development and use of modern communications systems. [video shows Ryzhkov looking at new communication equipment] [passage omitted]

Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov made a trip on a bus around the Ang Mo Kio residential district of Singapore. It is said about Singapore that it is a city of construction sites. Not only skyscrapers, banks, and hotels are being built, but also major housing estates. There are no housing problems in this city-state. Usually, Singapore's people live in apartments with three of four rooms. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov visited a family living here. The (Ol Yan) family—husband, wife and three children—bought a three-room apartment three years ago. It cost 45,000 Singapore dollars. Thanks to a single, national housing program and obligatory deductions of money from the incomes of all Singapore people to a central savings fund, the government has managed in two decades to build up Singapore once again. [video shows new residential area, Ryzhkov visiting family apartment]

[Begin recording] [Ilyashenko] Nikolay Ivanovich, your visit to Southeast Asia is ending. What is your mood as you leave this region?

[Ryzhkov] We have visited three countries in a week. I must say that I am in a good mood, because effectively we are discovering these countries. If we speak about our bilateral relations, we discussed first and foremost bilateral economic relations, although certain structures, economic structures of the Asian-Pacific region are being created today, which will to some extent coordinate economic life, and we also speak insistently, and kept saying that we would like to participate actively in those structures because the Far East and the entire eastern part of our country are part of the Pacific Ocean region. So I think that we have laid a very good basis for further cooperation. I think that if we begin to implement in practice what we at least have outlined, then this will bring great advantage both to the Soviet Union and these countries.

[Ilyashenko] Generally, the sphere of action is great?

[Ryzhkov] I think that we underestimated this to a large extent.

[Ilyashenko] Thank you very much. [video shows Ilyashenko interviewing Ryzhkov on a verandah] [end recording]

More on Concluding Day Activities

PM1902122790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS special correspondent report under general heading: "Visit to Singapore Completed"]

[Text] Singapore, 17 Feb—The concluding day of the visit to Singapore by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, began with a meeting with representatives of the island republic's business and financial circles. There was a discussion of questions of the further consolidation and development of economic and trade relations between the two countries.

The head of the Soviet Government visited the council for construction affairs. One of its leaders, Li Bun Yang [name as transliterated], described the council and its functions, its approach, and the principles of resolving questions of housing construction. Right now 87 percent of the population lives in homes constructed through the housing construction administration.

N.I. Ryzhkov and the officials accompanying him then visited the residential microregion of Ang Mo Kio. It is one of 20 so-called "new towns" in Singapore created in accordance with a unified planning concept but with different architectural features in the course of the implementation of the nationwide housing program.

The construction of the microregion, which covers 730 hectares, began in 1975, and was completed in five years. A total of 300,000 people live in it. The construction density is 160 apartments per hectare. On the territory of Ang Mo Kio there are 24 schools and colleges and a correspondence course institute, 23 kindergartens, two homes for the elderly, a branch of the national library, four savings banks, two mail departments, and 10 trade centers. There are also all necessary conditions for rest and leisure and sport.

Alongside the residential area the microregion has an industrial enterprise zone for the production of domestic electronic equipment, furniture, plastic, automobile spare parts, clothing, and food.

The construction of residential premises is mainly through the housing construction administration. Right now four-room and five-room apartments are most popular in Singapore. In recent years up to half of those moving into new accommodation move into such apartments. The initial deposit is 5-20 percent of the total sum and the balance is paid over 25 years. At the same time Singaporeans have the opportunity to rent apartments and to construction one- or two-story private houses.

Considering the substantial cost of housing, when they buy a house or apartments Singaporeans are allowed to use the funds in their accounts in the social security fund, to which each of them contributes up to 37 percent of his wages every month.

The administration has developed a scheme used as the basis to determine the number of rooms an apartment offered to a particular family should have. There is no upper limit on the area per family or per person. At the same time the minimum number of rooms on which a family can count depending on its income level and number of members is defined.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited the Singapore telecommunications center. Paramount attention is paid here to the development and constant improvement of the telecommunications system. Today the country holds one of the leading places in the world in terms of the development of modern communications means and their use on a national scale.

The telecommunications center, Telecom, engages in all questions of the development, planning, and practical introduction of new communications systems. Organizationally it is structured on the basis of the principle of an industrial corporation: It is headed by a chairman and a council of directors, president and general manager, and vice presidents, each of which heads a specific avenue of activity.

Telecom's investments policy is aimed at maintaining and developing national communications facilities at the level of leading achievements in this field. Substantial sums are invested in the development of the country's telecommunications infrastructure. The investments are justifying themselves—the center's income is growing 20 percent and more a year.

After the completion of tests this year it is planned to put into commercial operation the "Teleview" system, which will make it possible to considerably expand the volume of services to the population with the aid of technical facilities: the dispatch of "electronic" letters, settling of financial accounts with the bank and with stores, the calling up of virtually any information on a domestic display, and the requesting of information and currency exchange rates.

This year together with similar centers in Britain and Norway Telecom will for the first time put into operation satellite communcations for civil aviation. This will make it possible to maintain radiotelephone communications between passengers and any subscriber on earth during the flight.

Two years ago Telecom was the first in the regime to offer a new type of service on a commercial basis—the holding of long-distance "video conferences" making it possible for business partners in different countries to communicate by sound and visually. This system encompasses the leading countries of the Asian and Pacific region and West Europe by means of satellite communications. It is intended primarily for business and scientific circles.

At the same time as its active emergence onto the world services market Telecom is continuing to improve communications systems within the country. Mobile radio telephones for transmission stations and automatic telephones for direct international communication are being extensively introduced. In the near future Singapore will become the first country in the world to have fully switched from electromechanical switchboards to a single centralized electronic computer center. The island republic already has one of the most developed telephone systems, including in terms of the number of pieces of various telecommunications equipment per inhabitant.

Ryzhkov Describes Results of Visit

LD1702160290 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Singapore February 17 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov described his visit to Singapore as successful.

Speaking at a news conference upon the completion of his visit here today, Ryzhkov said his talks focussed on political and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Singapore.

He said this was the first visit by a Soviet premier to Singapore, as well as to Thailand and Australia, which "added new elements" to the Soviet Union's relations with these countries.

He said difficulties in the Soviet Union's trade with other countries, such as the inconvertibility of the ruble, "do not give grounds for not developing bilateral relations with Singapore.

"We not only trade with Singapore but also have joint ventures," Ryzhkov said, adding that the first such ventures were created in this country.

The prime minister said the two countries have possibilities for developing bilateral cooperation, specifically in the processing industry and the production of electronics. Singapore can also help the Soviet Union develop tourism.

Singaporean businesssmen may be interested in Soviet achievements in space, biotechnology and other science-intensive techological processes, Ryzhkov said.

He told reporters that the two countries had agreed to maintain political contacts between them that had been stepped up of late.

Ryzhkov said he and Singapore's leaders had also discussed the situation in Southeast Asia, adding that both sides called for a political settlement of unresolved issues, including the Cambodian problem.

Further on Briefing With Journalists

LD1702173790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 17 Feb 90

[By a TASS special correspondent]

[Text] Singapore 17 Feb (TASS)—Before flying off to Moscow, N.I. Ryzhkov met Singaporean and foreign journalists.

This trip, he said, has been a development of the principled positions voiced by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. We have been in Singapore for a day. This is the first visit here by a chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, as it was a first visit to Thailand and Australia, and this sets a stamp of newness on our relations with these countries.

Yesterday's talks with the leaders of the Republic of Singapore, today's meeting with representatives of business circles, and the familiarization with the work of various organizations all show that this state may be viewed as an example of how to participate in international economic ties.

Certain circumstances decreed that after World War II the Soviet Union and the socialist countries built their economic model in isolation. The result was that two markets developed: a socialist one and a capitalist one. Since 1985, our position on this matter has changed radically. We have stated that today, in this interdependent world, no country can live aloof—if it wants to develop, of course. We are pursuing a course that is in line with this. We now base our relations with other countries and other communities on these positions. An example is Singapore, with its very limited territory and resources. In spite of this the republic is developing dynamically because it utilizes the benefits of international economic ties. For this reason, the main topic in our talks today with Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew was how our relations should now be structured. Not just our bilateral relations, but multilateral ones, too.

We have carried out a detailed study of how Singapore involves itself in world economic ties, and how it utilizes the benefits of the international division of labor. I can tell you that much of what we have seen here has been of use and could be applied in the Soviet Union.

Matters relating to bilateral relations were also discussed yesterday. Perestroyka is now under way in our country, including in the realm of foreign economic relations. This is a kind of transitional period for us. We have not yet amassed sufficient experience, but besides this there are also objective reasons that do not permit us to join in these processes to the fullest in all their depth and scale. There is also, of course, the convertibility of the ruble. However these are no grounds—and we agreed on this yesterday—for not developing our bilateral relations. We are not only trading with Singapore, but also have joint enterprises. Incidentally, the first of these enterprises of ours was set up precisely in Singapore. We have now been discussing this issue and think that possibilities exist for expanding such cooperation. One of them is the development of a tourist industry in the Soviet Union with Singapore's help. We agreed that we will study this matter. Our potential cooperation in the sphere of the refining industry and electronics production also belongs to this category of possibilities.

We proposed also to take as broad a look as possible at the achievements of scientific and technological progress in the USSR. This concerns space, bioengineering and other technological processes which may be acceptable in Singapore as a high tech area.

We also reached agreement that is is necessary to maintain contacts. Recently they have been activated. Last year the Soviet Union was visited by Ong Teng Cheong, Singapore's second deputy prime minister. We have invited Lee Kuan Yew, the prime minister of Singapore, and Goh Chok Tong, his first deputy, to pay an official visit to the USSR.

On the whole, the visit to Singapore, in my view, has proceeded successfully. Besides the official program, we were acquainted today with the problems of housing construction and achievements in the field of telecommunications. In my view, issues of housing construction are being successfully tackled here. More than 80 percent of Singapore's people have normal housing conditions. I think that we should study Singapore's experience in detail.

The head of the Soviet Government said in conclusion: In my talks with the leaders of the Republic of Singapore we also discussed political issues, and in particular exchanged opinions on the situation in this region of the world. Both sides advocated a political settlement of the unresolved current problems, including the Cambodian one.

Thereupon N.I. Ryzhkov answered numerous questions from journalists.

Development of Foreign Trade Stressed

LD1802021190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1830 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov ended his official visit to Singapore today. Before that the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers visited Thailand and Australia. Interviewed by our correspondent before flying out of Singapore, Comrade Ryzhkov said, among other things:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] I think the main result of this visit is the fact that we have established very good contacts and created a good foundation for our further development. First and foremost, of course, we discussed bilateral economic relations. Economic structures are currently being created in the Asia-Pacific region to coordinate economic affairs, and we have stated that we would like to be actively involved in these structures. So I think we have laid very good foundations for further cooperation.

I have been confirmed in my view that the country must enter into global economic links very rapidly. In today's world it is impossible to exist in isolation, not to trade or have external economic links. Therefore, of course, we are faced with a very great deal of work, because our export structure is very limited and we shall have to put in a lot of work.

We had a thorough discussion of the political aspects, of course, particularly of Cambodia, which is something that worries everyone here, and also other political issues that figured in our conversations and talks. I think that if we now begin putting into practice that which we have planned at least this would be of great benefit both for the Soviet Union and for these countries. [end recording]

IZVESTIYA Queries Ryzhkov on Trip

PM1902102990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Singapore by special correspondent N. Paklin: "Useful Trip, Promising Ties; N.I. Ryzhkov Answers IZVESTIYA Correspondent's Questions"; first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction; date of interview not given]

[Text] Singapore—His brief visit to the island republic was the last stage in the week's tour of Thailand, Australia, and Singapore by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Before he left Singapore for Moscow our correspondent asked N.I. Ryzhkov to describe his personal impressions of his trip to the Southeast Asian countries and in particular to Singapore.

"This was my first visit to Thailand, Australia, and Singapore. So these were my first impressions. But as you know first impressions are the strongest. What can I say? I am very pleased that I have finally been able to visit these countries, although the trip has been complex and extremely strenuous. I think it will have specific results. I was convinced yet again of how rapidly formerly backward countries can embark on the path of dynamic economic development. Thailand, for instance. There the old gets along with the new. There are old buildings and new skyscrapers there, enterprises are fitted with the most modern equipment, people work there in a highly productive manner.

"About 12 years ago I changed aircraft in Singapore. I had only 2-3 hours. I took the opportunity to drive through the city. Today I did not recognize it. Everything here is new. Of course, its geographical position at the crossroads has a beneficial effect on Singapore's development. But I still think that is not the main thing. The main thing is that the Singaporeans have found themselves in world economic ties. Singapore President Lee Kuan Yew told me that in no circumstances can war be permitted. 'You realize,' he said, 'in the event of a war, for other countries there may still to some degree be talk of whether or not they will survive, but for our tiny state a big war would mean collapse. Singapore has nothing of its own. It lives through what is imported from all ends of the world.'

"In my view Singapore makes exceptionally effective use of its place in the world economy. Considering that Singapore has a positive balance of payments, the state allows itself to spend large sums on social programs. Singapore is a rich state and has the opportunity to implement major internal transformations. And from this viewpoint too our trip was useful. In our own country we should think about what to borrow from the experience of these countries and how, considering their achievements, to approach the solution of particular problems in our own country."

"After my trip to three countries," N.I. Ryzhkov continued, "I formed the impression that we have not yet taken a step forward in the sphere of foreign economic relations and we are in some places at a very low level. As for our bilateral relations, we have great prospects—and in that respect I agree with the Singaporean businessmen. After all, essentially we do not yet know each other. We must first of all get to know our mutual potential better. Take Soviet enterprises. They have received the right to go out onto the external market, but they have only a very feeble idea of this market. Yet Thailand, Australia, and Singapore are very easy to deal with. Their businessmen know their partners in other countries well. Systematic, dynamic work is under way on mutual understanding and the expansion of businesslike trade ties. In our country all this is still at the embryonic stage..."

Ryzhkov Urges 'Mechanism' for Talks

PM1802214590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent V. Skvortsov: "Much To Be Done"]

[Text] Singapore—[Skvortsov] Nikolay Ivanovich, in your opinion what new things have been introduced into the USSR's expanding dialogue with the countries that you have visited?

[Ryzhkov] We have developed contacts with those countries in recent years. At the end of 1987 we received Australian Prime Minister B. Hawke. The Thai prime minister visited Moscow. That was a good beginning to political dialogue, which we consider necessary to have with those countries. I cannot judge what the situation was 3-4 years ago in Thailand, Australia, and Singapore. It is hard for to talk about that because this is the first time that I have visited those countries.

The things that are going on within the USSR, in our own life, are primarily what are introducing changes into the current dialogue. Perestroyka, the democratization of society, and the great, radical changes have had a very powerful impact on the whole atmosphere of our mutual relations with these countries and the moral and psychological climate of their own approach to us. We walked freely everywhere, we talked, we met with amicable people.

It must be said that the contacts begun in the past in this region and now continuing, on the one hand, and our perestroyka, on the other, have contributed here. Our contacts and meetings and communication between people will undoubtedly go on.

[Skvortsov] The restructuring of economic, trade, and financial cooperation with the Soviet Union for the purpose of expanding it and giving it greater dynamism is a characteristic feature of present-day international life. In your opinion, what reserves remain untapped in the Asia-Pacific region in this regard?

[Ryzhkov] In both the political sphere and in the development of foreign economic ties we actively began studying this region primarily after Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. Many people think that we pay greater attention to Europe, that our country faces that way and that we pay little attention to this region. Perhaps at one time that was actually so. But in recent years many new things have been done to develop this area of our political and economic relations. The fact that talks are being held all the time and that all kinds of meetings and discussions are taking place is a contributory factor here.

My opinion is that the Asia-Pacific region has the most tremendous future. People say that this is the region of the 21st century. Perhaps that is so. But life alone will tell. One thing is clear: that everything is developing very rapidly and dynamically here, the potential is vast, and there is a powerful economic force grouped around the Pacific. It is necessary to comprehensively develop contacts and seek ways to develop cooperation both politically and economically.

Australia initiated the creation of the Asia-Pacific economic cooperation association. So far one session has been held, the second is scheduled for Singapore. I think that this is a promising community. Of course, for it to develop normally, what we have come to call the military presence must be reduced. That will require talks. Unfortunately we do not as yet have a mechanism for talks on this region. I consider this the main shortcoming from the political viewpoint. In Europe we have such a mechanism. Talks there may proceed slowly, but they do still proceed, and certain stages of talks can be seen. In any event, there is forward movement and we can see the benefit. Take the Vienna talks. At one time it was considered that they were a long way from progress. But now their results are a reality. This region lacks such a mechanism. I consider that the paramount task is to somehow pool the efforts of the countries concerned for the creation of such a mechanism which, step by step, would resolve the questions that have accumulated.

The Soviet Union must be involved in world economic ties, including ties in the Asia-Pacific region. There is no alternative. Yes, this is a complex process. Yes, we must go through certain stages. There is the most enormous work to do on all aspects of foreign economic ties, including banking, right through to telecommunications, without which normal economic mutual relations simply cannot exist today. Therefore, we still have much to do.

Ryzhkov Leaves Singapore for Home

LD1702113290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1115 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Singapore, 17 Feb (TASS special correspondent)—N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who was in Singapore on an official visit, and the persons accompanying him, left for home today. He was seen off at the airport by Yeo Ning Hong, Singapore's minister of communications and information, and other officials. Among those seeing him off was A.M. Dryukov, the USSR's ambassador to Singapore.

The visit by the head of the Soviet Government to three countries in the Asian-Pacific region, which was businesslike and constructive in nature, has ended.

Comparison of Ryzhkov-Hawke Talks in Canberra

PM1602115590

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 16 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a TASS report on the talks between USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov and Australian Prime Minister R. Hawke in Canberra. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, under the general headline "Meetings in Australia" with the item headlined "Concludes Talks With Hawke" published in the 16 February issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 20, column one, reveals the following variation:

Sixth paragraph, PRAVDA reads: ...the talks, which had been businesslike and specific, and they expressed...(rewording)

Comparison of Ryzhkov Canberra News Conference

PM1602123790

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 16 February 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a TASS report on USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov's Canberra news conference. Comparison of the PRAVDA item, under the general headline "Meetings in Australia," with the item headlined "TASS Reports News Conference" published in the 16 February issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 21-23, reveals the following variations:

Page 22, column one, fourth paragraph, last sentence PRAVDA reads: ...also touched on other matters, in particular...(rewording, substituting "other" for "our");

PRAVDA omits correspondents' names in last line of item.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov, PLO Leaders Hold Consultations

LD1602182390 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Muhammad Abbas and Sulayman al-Najjab, members of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Executive Committee, were received by Yuli Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, today.

The Arab-Israeli settlement was discussed. The representatives of the Palestinian leadership were informed about the results of the recent Shevardnadze-Baker negotiations in Moscow, especially on the Middle East problem.

The sides denounced Israel's unlawful establishment of immigrant settlements on occupied Arab territories, which is a gross violation of the international law and relevant U.N. decisions.

The Palestinian representatives stated that the PLO supported the Soviet proposal that the Security Council should consider Israel's dangerous actions. They shared their considerations on this score.

The two sides expressed their mutual desire to consolidate political cooperation and coordination between the USSR and the PLO in order to promote a comprehensive Middle East settlement and a fair solution of the Palestinian problem.

Consultations with Abbas and al-Najjab were held at the Soviet Foreign Ministry within the framework of the Soviet-Palestinian Middle East committee earlier today.

Vorontsov Queried on Emigration of Soviet Jews

LD1702180790 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpts] ANBA' MOSCOW published an interview held by its correspondent with Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union, on the tension in Soviet-Arab relations as a result of the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, which can only be stopped by state supreme security measures. [passage omitted]

In this context, a prominent Soviet diplomat, Yuliy Vorontsov, made the following statement to the ANBA MOSCOW correspondent: Our position is crystal clear. It is expected that the current session of the Supreme Soviet will endorse the law pertaining to entry into and exit from the Soviet Union, which will clearly confirm, and without exception, the right of Soviet citizens to leave the country at their will. Soviet government bodies will have to adhere to that fundamental right whether they like it or not.

The ANBA' MOSCOW correspondent asked Yuliy Vorontsov: In any case, it seems to me that by asking us to resolve the issue through banning, some people in the Arab world have a traditional view of us.

The Soviet diplomat replied: Everyone understands that the Soviet Union is no longer what it was a few years ago. On the basis of the force of persistence, they regard our system as a tyrannical one capable of resolving emerging issues through banning and prohibition. I said this to the Arab countries' ambassadors in Moscow not long ago. I also asked them whether there were security limitations which were imposed on the emigration of citizens in Arab countries. It transpired that these did not exist. Why is it then they want to take away from us our right to employ the conventions which are recognized internationally. I was forced to explain to the honorable Arab ambassadors that in that matter we are just like all the democratic countries; we do everything on the basis of the law. This is what the Soviet diplomat said. [passage omitted]

USSR Emigres Stage Protest in Jerusalem

LD1902112290 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Damascus February 19 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Antonov:

Scores of Jewish emigres from the USSR staged a demonstration here on Sunday opposite one of the immigration bureaus in Jerusalem. They protested against their living conditions in Israel.

According to the SANA news service, they told authorities that the 800-shekel allowance they now get was below the living minimum. The demonstrators also complained there were no conveniences and heating in buildings where they were housed. Moreover, the roofs and walls leaked when it rained. Nevertheless, they must pay 500 shekels a month for the accomodations.

'Thousands' at Anti-Zionist Rally in Moscow

LD1802191390 Kuwait KUNA in English 1730 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 18 (KUNA)—An anti-Zionist rally in Moscow Sunday urged the Soviet authorities to put on trial the "assassins" of Yevgeniy Yevsyev, the late head of a Soviet committee opposed to resumption of diplomatic links between Moscow and Israel.

Tens of thousands of people chanted anti-Zionist slogans and condemned the assassination of Yevsyev who had championed the Palestinian cause and led the drive against the Zionist lobby inside the Soviet Union and of elsewhere.

A car without a plate hit Yevsyev eight days ago. He died last Friday after lapsing in a coma.

He will be buried Tuesday after a funeral expected to draw a massive crowd of leading anti-Zionist figures.

In today's rally protesters chanted slogans like "Zionism is fascism" and "Zionism is hostile to socialism, nationalism and communism."

Leaflets distributed to protesters called for ridding the Soviet Union of the influence of Zionism and to bar pro-Zionists from the Soviet media and key posts.

Under attack was the Communist Party Politburo member Aleksandr Yakovlev, who according to the leaflets, had put pressure on President Mikhail Gorbachev for restoring diplomatic ties with Israel.

Yakovlev was also accused of clearing the way for two Soviet Jews to rise to power, in reference to Georgiy Arbatov and Yevgeniy Primakov as both have been elevated to the post of secretary of the Communist Party's Central Committee.

The rally, organized by the Union of Soviet National Organizations, was attended by a large number of army representatives.

A military speaker told the protesters Soviet-built tanks recently smuggled outside the country had been sent to Israel, and not to France as the official media here tried to indicate.

After a long diplomatic rupture that Moscow initiated in 1967, the Soviet Union about three years ago began to hold public low- level contacts with Israel, amid growing concern in the Arab world that Moscow would soon restore full ties with the Jewish state.

Those worries had been recently augmented, by Moscow opening the door for Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel where they would be resettled in Arab areas occupied by Israel.

Despite reassurances from Moscow to the contrary, the Arab media have been accusing the Soviet Union of betraying its avowed friendship with the Arab world in what appeared to be a deal with the other superpower, the U.S.

Najibullah Cited on Arms Smuggling to Tajikistan

PM1902104790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from TASS, REUTER, UPI roundup: "Afghan Mojahidin Deliver Arms to Tajikistan"]

[Text] Afghan President Najibullah has addressed journalists in Kabul. He stated that his government will take all necessary steps to prevent the smuggling of weapons from Afghan territory to Soviet Tajikistan. "We will not allow such a thing to happen," he stressed. It is reported that regions of Afghanistan adjacent to the Soviet border are controlled by the formations of Ahmad Shah Mas'ud—the best known field commander of the Afghan armed opposition. In turn, B. Rabbani, leader of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan (an organization which includes Mas'ud's grouping) has stated his intention to continue to ship across the Soviet-Afghan border weapons intended for extremist groupings in Tajikistan, which is populated predominantly by Muslims.

Moscow Reports Antiregime Protests in Tehran

NC1702123290 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The Islamic Revolution Guards opened fire on participants in antigovernment demonstrations yesterday. According to REUTER, citing the spokesman of an antiregime organization in Baghdad, the disturbances erupted during a football match at one of the stadiums in Tehran and later spilled onto the street. The protesters demanded the execution of spiritual leader Ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i and Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi- Rafsanjani. As a result of the use of firearms by the Revolution Guards, dozens of people, including an 11-year-old boy, were injured. Mass arrests were made.

East Europe

Bovin Reflects on Developments in East Europe

PM1602165890 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 5, 4 Feb 90 p 3

[Aleksandr Bovin article: "Be Specific"]

[Text] The full significance of the latest developments in Central and Eastern Europe can still hardly be estimated. More serious transformations are in store, with new political regimes in the offing. What socio-economic structures will replace the present ones? Theory has no answer. Given the social changes taking place around us, such theoretical generalizations and concepts as "socialism", "world revolutionary process", "proletarian internationalism", "socialist community", "world socialist system", and so on, are not concrete enough. And again questions arise. What real problems and phenomena do these concepts reflect today? Do they help us find our bearings in the turbulent waters of contemporaneity?

The point is not semantics. The point is to understand (or misunderstand) the reality being recorded in the system of notions.

According to the Philosophical Encyclopaedical Dictionary (State Publishers, Moscow 1989), a "concept" is an "idea reflecting in generalized form the objects and phenomena of the reality and substantial relations between them by recording general and specific symptoms, acting in the capacity of which are the properties of objects and phenomena and the relations between them". A bit complicated but no more complicated than the life into which we have been thrown....

Every concept is like the condensation and conceptualization of experience. By means of concepts we adjust the historical reality around us, systematize it, identify key points and guidelines from cognition and action.

But history marches forward. The reality is movable. Objects and phenomena change as do also the substantial relations between them. The result is that the sum of total of notions reflecting them likewise undergoes a change. Some notions (i.e. "Bolshevik", "Menshevik", "Comintern", "building communism all along the line") become obsolete, lose their material, objective basis, grow "hollow" and retire to history textbook. They are replaced with by others—reflecting new processes and phenomena.

As a rule, new concepts and the consequent transition to a new theoretical level of explaining the reality are caused by major changes and breakdowns in the march of history. Yet, the changes in the logic of things do not automatically lead to changes in the logic of thoughts. Dogmatism is no less inherent in human thinking than creative endeavour. One often hears it said that the truth is born as heresy, but dies as prejudice.

The "socialist community" referred to a group of mainly European "fraternal" countries brought together by the ideological and political unity of the ruling Communist Parties building their relationships on the principles of socialist internationalism. Does this community still exist? I don't think so. Because the Communist Parties have lost their monopoly on power. Consequently, the ideological component of the community has losts its validity. And the principles of socialist internationalism have given way to principles of peaceful coexistence. The fact that the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are still intact does not disprove this since they do not determine the character and nature of relations between their participants.

The same cannot be said about the world socialist system. In line with current views, it encompasses all socialist countries, irrespective of the relations among them. Even when China and Vietnam made war on each other, they still remained members of the world socialist sytems.

A definite vagueness of the criteria of belonging to socialism (Was Romania a socialist country before last December? Is Albania socialist?) introduces an element of subjectivism. But the dependence here is simple: Whoever regards the given country as a socialist one must necessarily "include" it in the world socialist system.

Theoretically, it can be assumed that in proportion with the reconstructions and evolution of socialism and capitalism their substantial characteristics will move closer together (convergence). If social progress assumes this form, with time the concepts of a "world socialist system" (and "world capitalist system") will lose their real content. They will "dissolve" into the integral world belonging to all of humankind.

Lyubovtsev Discusses Changes in East Europe

LD1802032590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2115 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the "Echo of the Day" newscast presented by V. Lyubovtsev]

[Excerpt] You know, comrades, the following notorious joke used to be repeated often in our country: Socialism is successfully overcoming the difficulties it creates for itself. It seems that today we are not in the mood for jokes. Both the Soviet Union and our friends have to overcome not individual difficulties but a perverted and obsolete model of socialism itself, and it is too early to speak of success in this matter.

From newspaper articles and from your letters to the editorial office, I know that many people, myself included, torment themselves over the following question: Why have the previous structures of power in our neighboring states collapsed so quickly and easily? They seemed solid and unshakeable but fell to pieces as soon as the wind of renewal started blowing in East Europe. And it is well-known that the many-thousand strong pupular manifestations, say, in that very same Berlin—and I myself witnessed that in November—demanded that socialism be rejuvenated, not abolished and that the party be purged, not banned. What is the matter here? Perhaps, time will provide a thorough and scientifically founded answer. But I would like to share with you my own thoughts brought about by the things I have seen in the last few months in Bulgaria, the GDR, and, or course, Romania, where I happened to be in the hottest days of December.

It is no secret that often disgruntled voices can be heard there which say: Because of perestroyka, we have lost socialist countries in East Europe. This is maintained sometimes even by those who, by virtue of their political experience and positions held, ought to understand the sense of the onging events and evaluate them by civic, not philistine, criteria. But let us ask ourselves a question: Can we lose something that never belonged to us? Let us face the truth: Neither giant China, small Albania, distant Cuba nor nearby Bulgaria—although its former leader in earnest proposed to turn his country into the 16th union republic—have ever belonged to us, i.e. the Soviet Union.

Yes, in most of the countries which we used to call fraternal, leaders pleasing to the Soviet leadership were in power. They implemented a policy which strictly corresponded to Moscow's wishes and the big brother's recommendations. Yes, we imposed our Stalinist-Brezhnevite model of the so-called true socialism upon these countries, encouraged in every possible way the same inefficient and idle economy we had, and backed the same system of suppressing dissent we had. Yes, every year, either in the Crimea in summer, or in Moscow, Prague, Berlin, and other capitals regular meetings, bilateral and multilateral consultations, exchange of views were held whereas in fact that was, mostly, exchange of mutual compliments and reciprocal awarding with highest state awards. Those things took place, indeed.

What had all that to do with peoples' life, with their everyday worries and growing problems? Nothing except that the growing tension in each individually taken country and in the socialist community as a whole was a direct result of a crisis of the administrative-command—or, as people put it nowadays—totaliterian system of coercion and the alienation of man from the results of his labor. Inside governmental residences, toasts were proposed to the monolothic unity of our community while there was not a trace of monolith neither within the socialist countries themselves nor in relations between them.

Typically, folk humor, every nation's common sense mocked the Potemkin villages of true of developed socialism and rejected the ostentatious unanimity, unity of thinking or uniformity which were instilled into peoples from all the rostra, newspaper pages or broadcasts. Not a community, but a camp surrounded by an impenetrable ideological fence and bristling with missiles and bayonets—that was how we looked quite recently. And it was no mere coincidence that Hungarians jokingly called their country the merriest barrack in the camp. It was no mere coincidence that as long as 30 years ago Czecks and Slovaks transformed the well-known slogan, with the Soviet Union for all eternity, by adding and not a second longer, quite in the spirit of Schweik. And, no doubt, neither Soviet journalists nor our colleagues in other countries could even hint at that.

Friendly feelings? Yes, they were there, engendered by the common struggle against fascist slavery and the gratitude to Soviet soldiers for the happiness of liberation. These feelings were passed on from fathers to children and they are still alive today, especially in the older generation.

Cooperation? Yes, it was there ,too, albeit of little efficiency and lame because of bureaucratic obstacles and ditches but it was very broad, one could even describe it as all-embracing, from the joint laying of oil pipelines to space flights, from military exercises to school trips. One cannot be compelled to love—we were constantly reminded of this old truth by our true, not time-serving, friends in Sofia, Berlin, or Prague, everywhere where party and state leaders were especially zealous in their attempts to please Moscow more than their own people.

In a word, fraternal countries and fraternal peoples have never belonged to the USSR. They lived their own life, although the avalanche of reports and misinformation could create the impression that in a couple of years we would become related forever. In fact, neither our way of life nor, moreover, our living standards or the valuable instructions sent from Moscow inspired or could inspire the peoples of the neighboring countries. In spite of all the efforts of their own partocracy and efforts of the bureaucratic apparatus, the Stalinist model of governing society did not take root there. That was precisely why the seemingly reinforced concrete regimes in the GDR, Bulgaria, or Czechoslovakia crumbled down so quickly and almost without resistance at the end of last year, and Ceausescu's dictatorship fell after several days, although snarling desparately and taking thousands to the grave.

And today, after all these events, there are some people who are prepared to rebuke our perestroyka for allegedly losing fraternal countries. I do not think that the Soviet ambassador in Warsaw and CPSU Central Committee member who spoke in this vein at the February plenum could really regret the loss of Poland. No, I am convinced that both he and other opponents of old pre-perestroyka views are grieving for other things, for the fact that in our country, too, the monopoly of the party on power, thought and word, the monopoly on government posts, armchair careers, and the omnipotence of the apparatus are receding into the past. Of course, without Soviet perestroyka and Gorbachev's firm policy, the radical changes in East Europe would have happened, perhaps, within different time limits. But they would have happened, anyway, because they had been ripe and they were unavoidable. And today these changes are one way or another strengthening the process of renewal in our country. We are starting to learn from one another. [passage omitted]

West Europe

Moiseyev Continues Finland Visit

PM1602113190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit Continuing"]

[Text] Helsinki, 14 Feb—Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, who is in Finland on an official visit, has visited the coastal artillery school of the country's defense forces. He familiarized himself with the cadets' life and studies. Here, too, he gave a news conference for Finnish and foreign journalists.

The Soviet military leader visited V.I. Lenin's museum-apartment in Helsinki and laid flowers at the memorial plaque on the museum building.

Then he visited the Finnish parliament and familiarized himself with its activity.

In the evening Army Gen. M.A. Moiseyev gave a dinner in the Soviet Embassy which was attended by General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of Finland's defense forces, and by other generals and officers of the country's Defense Ministry.

Assesses Visit Positively

LD1502094190 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—"Meetings between representatives of Soviet and Finnish Armed Forces contribute to the development and consolidation of friendly relations," head of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev said today, commenting on his three-day official visit to Finland. He noted that the visit was very interesting and busy. He met Finnish President Mauno Koivisto, the defence minister and the commander-in-chief of the Finnish Armed Forces and acquainted himself with the lifestyle and training of Finnish military.

Moiseyev said that close relations between Armed Forces of the two countries are plan-based. He noted that his visit marked the beginning of the implementation of a two-year plan for the development of relations between Soviet and Finnish Armed Forces, which was signed last October.

"This visit blends with current positive changes in the world and in Europe," Moiseyev stressed.

No Desire To Change Treaty

LD1402110490 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1000 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, rejects the idea of changing the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between Finland and the Soviet Union. Moiseyev, who is visiting Finland, said in Helsinki that the Soviet Union does not want to reassess or change the treaty. The Soviet Union is faithful to the treaty and supports it, Moiseyev told the media. Moiseyev referred to a statement made by General Secretary

Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Finland that, according to Moiseyev, gave a fairly clear political assessment of the treaty.

Agreement With Finland on Baltic Disasters

LD1602001890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1831 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Helsinki, 14 Feb (TASS)—Representatives of the USSR Ministry of Maritime Fleet and the Finnish directorate in charge of water conservancy and environmental protection today signed here a Soviet-Finnish agreement on measures to prevent and eliminate the consequences of disasters in the Baltic Sea, connected with leakage of petroleum products and chemical substances.

The agreement also defines measures for rendering mutual assistance during accidents at sea, provides for a mutual information exchange concerning damage, as well as organizing joint exercises in combating disasters.

The signing of this document represents a practical fulfillment of the agreement that was signed in Helsinki in the autumn of last year during M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to Finland.

Munich To Host Soviet Conversion-90 Exhibition

PM1402112590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 90 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Ye. Grigoryev dispatch: "Conversion's Debut. 'Conversion-90' Exhibition in Preparation"]

[Text] Bonn, 10 Feb—"Conversion-90"—this will be the name of an unusual exhibition to be held in Munich at the end of April. It will display 1,200 exhibits and developments by 300 enterprises from the Soviet military-industrial complex which have fully or partially switched to the manufacture of civilian output.

"Such exhibitions have not been organized at any other international fair," I was told by Werner Marzin, general director of the Munich Trade Fair and Exhibition Society. The idea was conceived during his conversations with leaders of the "Ekspotsentr" All-Union Foreign Trade Association in Moscow. The specific plan for holding the "Conversion-90" exhibition as a joint venture by the Soviet and Munich firms gained the approval and support of the Bavarian Land government.

"Our aim," he went on, "is to promote disarmament and international cooperation. About 70 Soviet scientists and specialists will be in Munich for the exhibition. We expect lively debates and business contacts. The FRG association of machine building firms announced that, in its turn, it will introduce suitable partners to the Soviet guests."

Soviet exhibits in the spheres of missile and satellite technology, microelectronics, and laser and medical equipment will be on show in Munich, as well as consumer goods manufactured by our defense industry enterprises.

In Marzin's opinion, the Soviet partners have interesting technological developments and output which can be fully utilized by FRG industry. As a matter of fact, interest in the forthcoming exhibition has already been expressed by other European countries, and thus its return could be much broader.

Firms from the FRG and other European countries will see at "Conversion-90" some hitherto unknown Soviet enterprises and maybe will find them to be new and promising partners.

Latin America & Caribbean

Failure of Cartagena Drug Summit Predicted

PY1602200090 Moscow in Portuguese to Brazil 2200 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Leonid Levchenko commentary]

[Text] The Colombian resort city of Cartagena de Indias is today the site of a summit of countries that are the main producers and consumers of cocaine—Bolivia, Colombia, Peru, and the United States. Leonid Levchenko comments on this summit.

A few hours of talks in Cartagena will not, in my opinion, resolve the problem of the white death powder, which is highly complex and dangerous for all people, because there are profound differences between the United States and the other participants in the summit regarding the methods for solving the drug problem. The United States, which is the largest consumer, emphasizes the destruction of the coca and marijuana crops in the Andean countries, where they have traditionally been cultivated. Colombia, Bolivia, and Peru, however, emphasize their need for economic assistance, not just to fight drug trafficking, but also to ensure alternative employment for the large number of people who depend on the cocaine economy.

The presidents of the Andean countries contend that the use of U.S. troops to fight the drug cartels in their countries is not acceptable. The Colombian experience in the fight against the drug scourge demonstrated that the Andean countries themselves are fully capable of dismantling the criminal structure and ending the activities of the cocaine barons.

The Cartagena summit is being held at a time when the U.S. invasion of Panama—under the pretext of capturing General Manuel Noriega, who was accused of involvement in drug trafficking in the United States—is a very recent memory. As a protest against the invasion of Panama, Peruvian President Alan Garcia had initially refused to participate in the drug summit, and then agreed to attend, only after the United States promised to withdraw its invasion troops by the end of February.

Literally on the eve of the summit, the U.S. Government announced that the withdrawl of those troops had been completed and that the only U.S. troops remaining in Panama are those who were stationed there before the invasion. Most likely, the announcement was made primarily to ease the discontent of the Andean presidents concerning the illegal occupation of Panama.

If the intentions of the countries attending the summit are expressed in general terms, it can be said that the United States would like to transfer the combat front against drugs to the territory of the Andean countries, which, in turn, demand that the United States adopt stricter measures against drug trafficking in its territory. The Latin American participants in the summit contend that the U.S. Government must interdict all the channels for the clandestine trade in drug precursor chemicals and in arms and explosives for the drug cartels.

That task is more complex than merely destroying coca plantations in the Andean countries, particularly because the United States, as everything seems to indicate, is not inclined to accept the Andean countries' proposal that coca-replacing crops be exported. If these new crops are not exported, the peasants will be condemned to greater poverty, with all the social consequences thereof.

Meanwhile, Washington is keeping quiet regarding the proposal by Peru and Bolivia that their foreign debt be converted into a fund to fight drug trafficking. The approval of this proposal would go a long way toward solving many problems.

Supreme Soviet Session

Lukyanov Outlines Supreme Soviet Agenda 20 Feb

LD2002105290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet session resumed at 1000 this morning. There was a closed joint sitting of both chambers yesterday. The situation in the republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia was discussed. The debate on this issue will continue. Today, however, the deputies are to conclude their discussion on the principles for land legislation. Thirty of those who have just registered are to speak today. After a break for lunch, it is proposed to work within the committees and commissions.

On behalf of the presidium, Comrade Lukyanov moved for the following order of work for the session: Until the end of the week, there will be sittings in the committees and commissions and discussion on primary draft laws will continue. For Monday, separate sittings of the chambers of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities are proposed.

Chairs Land Bill Debate

LD2002110590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0846 GMT 20 Feb 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 20 TASS—This morning the joint sitting of the Soviet parliament chaired by Anatoliy Lukyanov continued to debate the bill on land.

Parliament's autumn session approved the first reading of the bill. Then, it was offered for a nationwide discussion, since some of its provisions provoked a heated discussion.

The question of private property of land aroused particular controversy. There are many advocates of its introduction in the country. On the other hand, sentiments are also strong against it "contradicting the principles of socialism."

A heated discussion on the same issue also began at the current session of parliament when Deputy Aleksandr Nikonov submitted the second reading of the bill on Friday on behalf of the commission on finalizing the bill.

Parliament suspended the bill's discussion on Monday. It held a joint sitting behind closed doors on the ethnic clashes in Transcaucasia, as a result of which a state of emergency was imposed in January in a number of areas in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Gorbachev, Yazov Address Supreme Soviet 19 Feb

LD2002114190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0950 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, February 20 (TANJUG)—President of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev proposed yesterday that the parliaments of Azerbaijan and Armenia begin negotiations on resolving the problems which exist between the two republics.

As learned, Gorbachev said this at a closed session of the Supreme Soviet which discussed the situation in these republics and measures for its settling. Gorbachev proposed that a moratorium be introduced in the meantime on all those activities which might aggravate the situation, and that all armed activities be stopped. All measures should be taken that the fighting units of both republics immediately be stripped of arms.

Although it lasted all day, the debate on the situation in these two republics did not result in a formula for overcoming the difficulties between Armenia and Azerbaijan and it will continue soon.

It has also been learned that speeches by several deputies from Azerbaijan and Armenia were very emotiional. Azerbaijani deputies left the Supreme Soviet session during a speech by Defence Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov.

Yazov had been in Baku and had commanded the Army units which introduced the state of emergency and curfew there. A large number of people had been killed at the time.

As learned, some deputies proposed that extreme measures be taken against those republics in which extremists have gained influence. It was demanded that they be expelled from the Soviet Union, but such a measure was not adopted.

Bakatin Says Troops Still Needed in Azerbaijan

LD1802230490 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] The Soviet parliament resumes session on Monday [19 February] after the weekend recess. Last week MP's considered draft laws of key economic and social importance—one on property, the other on land. Both aroused a heated debate that will be continued. But on Monday morning parliament will begin by discussing the situation in the Transcaucasus and the moves being adopted to settle it. The MP's decided to meet behind closed doors, not to aggravate the situation in the region or fan up passions.

One of those to take the floor during the discussion will be the Interior Minister, Vadim Bakatin, who is just back from Azerbaijan. He said on television on Sunday the troops that have been introduced in some of the Azerbaijanian regions in connection with the state of emergency might be withdrawn only after the political leaders in the republic guarantee full control over the situation. He said the presence of troops was still necessary and that more than 200 people had been killed in the region since the situation there had taken a turn for the worse.

Supreme Soviet Broadcast Schedule Noted

LD1902083290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 19 Feb 90

[From the review of GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On the days when the Supreme Soviet session is working, you can watch and hear material from the sitting of the Soviet parliament on the second channel of Central Television from 1900 [1600 GMT] and on the radio second program. However, a definite decision on the procedure for transmitting the sitting will be made in each specific instance by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

TV, Radio Air 16 Feb Supreme Soviet Session

Deputies Discuss Ownership

LD1602173690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT February link up and begin carrying a recorded relay of the 16 February Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Moscow Kremlin.

At 1600 GMT Lukyanov, in the chair, asks the deputies to take their seats and register. Four hundred and nine are present, enough to proceed.

Deputy Komarov is first to speak. Recent events give rise for concern for the country's future: "Certain forces" are trying to destabilize the Union. A group of deputies was formed yesterday under the name "Soyuz." Komarov reads out their aims: To uphold the Soviet federation, to prevent extremism, free development of all ethnic groups, economic recovery, environmental protection legislation. The group wishes to cooperate with all other groups of deputies. One hundred and three deputies have joined so far.

At 1606 GMT Lukyanov invites Deputy Menshatov to speak on the draft law on ownership. Menshatov proposes amendments increasing the size of private plots: We should be afraid more of empty shelves than of violating ideology.

At 1611 GMT Deputy Turysov comes to the rostrum. The legislation must provide guarantees of jobs and working standards. Other minor amendments are proposed.

At 1615 GMT Deputy Yablokov speaks. He was a member of the committee charged with summing up the results of nationwide discussion of the draft laws on ownership. The committee did its work badly. AUCCTU (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions) research has shown that "60 to 70 percent" of the population is in favor of private property. Yablokov criticizes the jargon in which the present draft is written. Further work must be done on the draft taking the AUCCTU social research results into account.

At 1620 GMT Deputy Fedorov comes to the rostrum. He criticizes the proposal that the government should be allowed to finalize the legislation. These powers would be used to limit ownership rights. He condemns the fact that the legislative bodies' work can be amended by Supreme Soviet Presidium working commissions. Lukyanov points out that the working commission was set up at the instructions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium working commissions. Lukyanov points out that the working commission was set up at the instructions Supreme Soviet itself, calling Fedorov to order.

At 1628 GMT Deputy Kurtashin speaks. The draft law, he says, fails to define the word "owner" and specify who has the right to own what. There is nothing wrong with individuals owning houses, hotels, and so forth. Socialism and power to the Soviets remain fundamental principles, However.

Ammendments to Ownersip Platform Suggested

LD1602175190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue to relay the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 1632 GMT Deputy Zelinskiy comes to the rostrum to stress the ethical aspect of ownership legislation. Property should be purchased only with legitimately earned money. He proposes an amendment to prevent acquisition of property on black market earnings.

At 1635 GMT Deputy Tikhonov says he is less dissatisfied with the draft than the previous speakers. The main issue is whether or not the law will give Soviet citizens the right to free enterprise. The draft does not give a positive answer to this question, though it is revolutionary in comparison wth past legislation. The experts are incapable of defining the word "socialist" now; many are afraid of seeing the state lose control over people's economic activities. The draft does not allow peasants to own land, leaving everything in the hands of collective and state farms. There are many contradictions in the draft concerning land use—it must be tidied up.

At 1644 GMT Deputy Boyko, a member of the ecology committee, speaks about the draft proposed by that committee and the draft tabled for debate by the Supreme Soviet, pointing out shortcomings in the latter. It is written in "declarative" form and is "legally improper": Specific examples are mentioned.

At 1645 GMT Lukyanov asks everyone to speak in "proper parliamentary language," reproaching Boyko for his robust criticism of other deputies.

At 1650 GMT Deputy Kim proposes including ownership of cultural and historical assets in the draft law. Specific amendments to various articles are put forward. The peasantry worked well during the NEP (New Economic Policy) period, though they did not own the land—they merely had the right to work it. Replying to those who propose scrapping state and collective farms completely, Kim asks how the country is to survive in the years that immediately follow, while the new system takes shape.

At 1656 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy talks about intellectual property. The draft will be "an empty document" unless it scraps state ownership of the results of intellectual labor. A section contained in an intermediate draft of the law on ownership but subsequently removed must be reinstated, says Burlatskiy. Private property, individual farming and intellectual property rights are essential for the country's development as part of "contemporary civilization".

Procedural Matters Discussed

LD1602184290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue to relay the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 1718 GMT Deputy Kirilov says all honest people are indignant about the draft law provision on buying up property. The state must provide special grants for those wishing to become property owners. Some other clauses are criticized. An extraordinary session to discuss presidential powers should be convened.

At 1724 GMT Deputy Khmura says private ownership should be introduced without fear.

At 1727 GMT Deputy Sobchaki says in the draft law everything is inter-related. Socialist property is a vague concept. All forms of ownership cannot fit into one single formula. The law should be adopted as soon as possible—it should be approved in general and later elaborated in committees and commissions.

At 1736 GMT Deputy Kozin remarks on the procedure for discussing draft laws. He points out some contradictions in the draft on ownership. Too much attention is paid to elaborating definitions and the essence is drowned in them. The draft should be amended for a third reading.

At 1742 GMT Deputy Bolbasov proposes amendments on intellectual property and copyright. He lists corresponding laws which should be elaborated.

At 1747 GMT Deputy Gukasov says private property should be allowed but restrictions are necessary. Republics should be owners of their land and natural resources.

At 1752 GMT Chairman Lukyanov says that 45 people have spoken so far. Lukyanov puts a proposal on ending the debate to a vote: 330 for, 22 against, 11 abstained.

At 1754 GMT Deputy Burlatskiy gives a brief clarification with reference to Sobchak's speech.

At 1756 GMT Deputy Zhuravlev defends the draft law by the ecological group and asks that it be circulated among the deputies.

At 1757 GMT Deputy Sobchak retorts to Burlatskiy regarding his interpretation of communism and christianity and foreign constitutions.

At 1800 GMT Voblikov makes remarks regarding Boyko's speech.

At 1801 GMT Deputy Osipov argues with Boyko and speaks against labelling people.

At 1804 GMT Deputy Abalkin says fundamental issues of Soviet Federation are being faced. He objects to attacks on the government. This is not a governmental draft—it was tabled by the committee on legislation. There are three powers in the state, and there will be chaos in a society without executive power.

At 1807 GMT Chairman Lukyanov sums up previous speeches. He suggests approving the draft law, with further elaboration of it in commissions and committees within a week. He calls for a vote: 304 for, 24 against, 33 abstained. Voices from the floor allege that there is no quorum. Registration is repeated. There are 401 people. Voting is repeated: 343 for, 16 against, 24 abstained. There is discrepancy between the number of people present and the sum of votes. Lukkyanov calls on the deputies to be more professional in their behavior.

At 1817 GMT Deputy Yudin makes a procedural remark from the floor. There is a vote on his proposal not to have a time limit included in the resolution. The proposal is not accepted.

At 1821 GMT more proposals are heard from the floor on procedural matters.

at 1822 GMT the morning session ends.

Draft Called 'Substantial Step Forward'

LD1602192190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue to relay the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 1824 GMT the afternoon sesson begins. Chairman Lukyanov invites Aleksandr Nikonov, President of VASKhNiL (Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V.I. Lenin), to present the draft law on land for its second reading.

At 1825 GMT Nikonov stresses the importance of the draft law for the country's healthy development. Numerous proposals, questionnaires and studies were taken into account in amending its provisions following the first reading at the autumn Supreme Soviet session. Land use problems have to be solved in conjunction with general social and economic problems. A poll by the public opinion center showed that Soviet people are in favor of diversity of forms of farming: Poll results cited reflecting attitudes towards various aspects of land use. These findings were used in drawing up the draft.

The draft, says Nikonov, aims at extending and reinforcing citizens' rights. It guarantees everyone the right to obtain land and to own it for their lifetime. It provides incentives for maintaining and improving soil fertility. Other provisions are mentioned in general terms. It is a "greener" draft thanks to joint work with the ecology committee.

At 1849 GMT Nikonov moves on to discuss local soviets: The draft gives them greater rights at all levels. Changes have been made to take account of the diversity of conditions across the country. A draft Supreme Soviet decision is proposed on the procedure for implementing the law on land. This will ensure that the law does not remain simply a piece of paper. Nikonov outlines the provisions in the draft decision.

Concerning deputies' observations, Nikonov says he is grateful for constructive help: Yudin, Denisov, and Tikhonov are singled out for praise. He gives detailed explanation of why some ideas were not included in the draft. Nikonov describes as "dubious" the idea that buying and selling of land should be allowed. He ends by asking the deputies to vote for the draft in its second reading.

At 1902 GMT Deputy Lushchikov comes to the rostrum to maintain that the draft must specify the rights of autonomous territories in land use issues. The draft is not written clearly. It is, however, considerably better than the draft originally tabled, providing good opportunities for individual farming. It should be adopted. The draft permits use of hired labor, in agriculture; buying and selling of land is not provided for; local soviets will administer land. The draft law is a "substantial step forward" in agricultural legislation.

Nikonov, Yakovlev Address Session

LD1602203890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue to relay the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 1915 GMT Nikonov returns to the rostrum to elaborate upon the issue of land ownership by answering questions he has received in written form. Legislation on forestry and water is being worked out. There is a suggestion that technical qualifications should perhaps be the criterion for inheriting land. Nikonov acknowledges only that such education is to be admired and councils more of it in the USSR. He answers a question from Burlatskiy regarding the terminology by which the right to inherit land is enshrined in the draft law. Another question attempts to bring the issue back to the future of the federation which, Nikonov says, is outside the parameters of the current debate. The draft law contains a clause on the confiscation of land which is not properly used by collective bodies, not individuals.

At 1925 GMT Nikonov continues to field questions from the floor, handed in in writing.

At 1927 GMT Lukyanov announces that discussion will follow and Yakovlev, minister of justice, is first to come to the rostrum on this point. He reads aloud Lenin's 1918 decree on the socialization of land. It stated that land was for the use of all the working people. Regional management of land was subordinate to overall state control. Another early law removed forever the right to private ownership of land as the property of all the people, a term much bandied about today, he notes. Recent times have shown divergence from these original principles. The thing to do now is to restore the original meanings of the texts so that farmers can use the land to the good of all.

At 1935 GMT Yakovlev notes that there are contradictions betwen the draft land law and that on leaseholding. The private ownership debate will continue for a long while, he feels. He calls for approval of the draft.

At 1937 GMT Deputy Yudin comes to the rostrum and asks that the deputies be given a copy of the original land decree, no simple document after all. Many important issues are left unsolved by the draft now under discussion. People will be able to demand land from the local soviets under the new law: Yudin believes it should be specifically rural or rayon soviets which meet these demands. The soviets at whatever level should be leaseholders rather than having the right to dispose of the land within their care free of charge. Regarding international contracts he warns of the danger of discriminating against people at home: International involvement must be proved beneficial.

At 1944 GMT Chairman Lukyanov announces a question relating to when there will be a debate of the presidential power issue—Yablokov and Komarev asked the question. A break is announced.

At 1945 GMT the video repeats the sitting at 1600 GMT. The deputies are asked to register their attendence. The sitting forms a quorum. The land law is still on the agenda in its second reading. Five minutes are allocated per speaker.

Deputies Continue Debate

LD1602221390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue to relay the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 1948 GMT Deputy Raig is at the rostrum. He warns that taxation must not be allowed to deaden the farmers' committment to working the land. Successful farming is only really possible given free market conditions.

Without those conditions he forecasts a worsening economic crisis. He feels the private property issue is becoming an impediment to restructuring as a whole. If the truth were known, the Soviet Union is only in favor of restricted civil rights, he said. That is utopia. Realism is called for now. He specifies amendments he would like to see introduced to the draft. He calls for a declaration that collectivization constituted a crime by Stalin against the people. The declaration will be handed to the presidium.

At 1956 GMT Chairman Lukyanov asks that the debate be restricted to aspects of the draft law under discussion. Such calls as Raig's last demand are nothing new. Lukyanov cites a similar request.

At 1958 GMT Deputy Pokhitaylo is concerned by claims that collective and state farms have not justified the great hopes placed in them. He looks back at historic documents on similar debates over land ownership which can be summarized as "working together is more fruitful." Turning precisely to the law on land, he states again that the collective and state farms are effectively being forced into the background. He also picks out individual articles of the draft on which to comment.

At 2005 GMT Deputy Mongo is at the rostrum. He expresses overall approval of the draft law on land and points out that land ownership must be reflected in the legislation of republics and autonomous formations. Land and nationality are inevitably linked since only the people on a given territory can actually care for a specific area of land. Land and property are indivisible on this level and the rights of the autonomous formations must not be ignored. He speaks with particular reference to the northern peoples. An ecology policy is called for, again with special reference to the north. Nomadic peoples are another special case.

At 2012 GMT Deputy Shundeyev says that one cannot be complacent whilst there is adherence to an outdated collective farm system and a massive food problem and points to the ludicrous situation in which a country with an inordinate amount of arable land cannot feed itself. He extrapolates from the plight of the peasantry the reason for other social ills and cites China as a way in which things might be different. That country can, at least, provide its people with food. He calls for increased independence in agricultural matters.

Deputies Support Draft Law, Suggest Ammendments

LD1602223890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian and Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continue to relay the Supreme Soviet session in Moscow.

At 2017 GMT deputy Kasyan says buying and selling land is impossible, it will aggravate national strife even more. Whilst a mechanism for distributing land has not yet been developed, people should be given private allotments.

At 2020 GMT Deputy Mikheyev says credits should be given to those who wish to take land for agricultural purposes. Proper infrastructure is required for developing agriculture, otherwise the law will remain only on paper. He approves of the law but says amendments are desirable.

At 2026 GMT Nivenko speaks about the inadequate protection of forests. He suggests amendments to the draft.

At 2029 GMT Deputy Kukhar says collective farmers approve of many provisions of the draft but some provisions are not to their liking—he explains which and why.

At 2035 GMT Deputy Mukhamedzhyanov says the peoples populating autonomous republics should be taken into consideration, too. He crtiticizes clauses stipulating supervision of farm performance. He supports the draft in general.

At 2040 GMT Deputy Zanokha suggests minor amendments.

At 2045 GMT Deputy Chichik says collective farms are not bad, but they need better technology.

At 2049 GMT Deputy Yetylen says more attention to small peoples and ethnic groups are desirable in the draft.

At 2055 GMT Deputy Petrova approves the draft in general. The problem of technical equipment is of paramount importance for individual farming. Economic equality for all forms of farming should be ensured.

At 2101 GMT Deputy Samarin shows a letter from a successful lease-holder who was wronged by a vengeful senior official. Peasants should have more say in their own work.

At 2105 GMT Deputy Ivchenko says the role of rural soviets should be given more prominence in distributing land to individual farmers. The draft should be adopted.

At 2110 GMT Deputy Golovnev highlights contradictions in the draft; individual farmers should be on the same footing with collective and state farms.

At 2115 GMT Deputy Grinovskis says state property has failed in the country, agriculture has been declining for decades. Inadequate technical provisions and economic relations are at fault. He supports the draft. Republics should be enabled to grant the right of private ownership.

At 2125 GMT Deputy Chernichenko says those who opt for individual farming run up against unimaginable hardships and pressure from bureaucrats, it is a real war to eliminate individual farmers. Peasantry is being destroyed, we are on the edge of an economic catastrophe. The draft is very timely.

At 2130 GMT Deputy Motornyy says the draft is good because it delegates many issues to republics themselves. A single system of taxation is needed in the country to give more freedom to collective farms. Collective farms are to blame for the food situation in the country. He regrets the confrontational spirit which now permeates Soviet agricultural affairs.

At 2138 GMT Deputy Klishchuk comes to the rostrum and says he is offended by the insults levelled at the once-lauded collective farms. More and better use could be made of available land. Collective farms will be further impoverished as local soviets become involved in land management. Nonetheless he feels the law should be adopted. Lukyanov comments that this general desire to approve the law is striking in itself.

At 2145 GMT a proposal from the floor calls for specialist speakers to be asked to participate.

At 2145 GMT Deputy Lukyanov announces that on Saturday the commissions will be at work. Sunday will be a day of rest. The sittings will be renewed on camera on Monday when the debate will discuss Azerbaijan and Armenia and measures to normalize the situation there. A break is announced until 1000 on 19 February.

16 February Supreme Soviet Session Reviewed

LD1602180690 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 16 Feb 90

[by TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—At a joint sitting of its two houses in the morning, the Soviet Parliament continued discussions on a property bill, the key item in the legislative package on economic reform in the Soviet Union.

The possible stratification of society as a result of the introduction of new forms of ownership was the biggest bone of contention today.

Forty-five deputies took part in the two-day debate. The Supreme Soviet approved the bill as a whole and assigned standing commissions and committees to apply finishing touches next week. The bill will then by resubmitted for an article-by-article discussion to the full house.

The deputies turned to a debate on principles of the union and republican legislation on land.

The land bill passed the first reading at the parliament's autumn session and was submitted for nationwide discussion because some of its provisions generated heated debates, above all, the private ownership of land.

Presenting the bill for the second reading today, Aleksander Nikonov, president of the all-union agricultural academy, said that 2,400 specific amendments and suggestions had been made during the nationwide debate.

The speaker noted that by ensuring the farmer the right to life- long, inheritable possession of land, or limited ownership, the bill "draws the historical line under the prolonged powerlessness of the farmer and secures his freedom of choice and his ownership of farming produce and revenues from the sale of this produce."

After Nikonov's remarks, the parliament began the discussion of the bill, which will continue next week.

Several deputies formed a group called "Soyuz," comprising parliamentarians from various parts of the country, to "resist the break-up of the union." More than a hundred members of the Supreme Soviet joined the new group.

The session will resume work on Monday, February 19, to discuss the situation in Transcaucasia at a closed-door sitting.

Supreme Soviet Resumes Discussing Property Bill

LD1602074790 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet continued the discussion of a crucial property bill at a joint sitting of the Soviet parliament's two chambers today.

The discussion is expected to be completed in the first half of the day so that parliamentary committees and commissions could sum up deputies' proposals before the article-by-article voting, scheduled for next week.

The sitting is being chaired by First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Passions ran high today in Soviet parliament over fears that the introduction of a private property would mean the end of socialism and widespread "social stratification."

Trade union delegate Karatay Turysov said the bill on ownership should enshrine "socialist property." The current draft mentions it only in the preamble.

"No one can explain what 'socialist property' is," Vladimir Tikhonov, head of the Soviet Cooperators' Union, snapped back.

"This is just a phrase that impedes free enterprise in the Soviet Union," he said.

He was backed by political scientist Fyodor Burlatskiy, who said the bill should be politically neutral.

A plant director from Udmurtiya, Aleksey Menshatov, spoke for private property, saying that family farms working 3.3 per cent of land account for a quarter of total agricultural output.

Kazakhstan's First Deputy Prime Minister Erik Gukasov proposed to sell land to all who wanted to buy it.

Several deputies opposed his proposal. Kim En Un, a fellow from the Omsk University in Western Siberia, reminded that in the 20s, during rapid agricultural growth, land was not owned by the peasants.

All in all, 45 deputies took part in the debates on the issue.

The Supreme Soviet approved the bill in principle, giving its commission a week to finalise it and submit it for article-by- article discussion.

Supreme Soviet Discusses Draft Land Legislation

LD1602131190 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet today began to discuss draft fundamental land legislation of the USSR and constituent republics.

Earlier today, the Soviet parliament completed the second-reading discussion of a property bill. After parliamentary committees complete their work, the bill will be put to the vote, article by article.

The land bill allows life and inherited ownership of land plots. It proclaims the right to personal ownership of land, limited only by a ban on its sale, presentation or mortgaging.

The land bill had been approved in the first reading at the autumn session and put to nationwide discussion because some of its major provisions caused heated debates. This refers, above all, to the problem of the private ownership of land.

Those who insist on the introduction of such property say an unlimited right to own land will make farmers confident of the future.

Opponents of this idea claim private ownership of land will make the latter an object of sale and resale by shadow economy dealers wishing to legalise their profits.

Aleksander Nikonov, president of the Agricultural Academy, summed up the results of the nationwide discussion of the land bill today and submitted it to parliament for its second reading.

Nikonov's report will follow later.

Nikonov Presents Land Bill

LD1602135390 Moscow TASS in English 1317 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—People's Deputy Aleksandr Nikonov, president of the USSR Agricultural Academy, delivered a report to the Soviet parliament today on the results of the nationwide discussion of the draft principles of the Soviet Union's and Union republics' land legislation.

He said that 2,400 amendments and proposals were received by the editing committee he presides during the discussion. One in four was included in the present version of the document. The letters reeived from Soviet people and public opinion polls show that multiple forms of farming, envisaged in the bill, enjoy broad popular support.

The speaker stressed that by giving farmers the right to inherit land, the bill "ensures peasants freedom of choice and the right to own the goods they produce and the profits they get from marketing them."

The bill does not envisage the dissolution of collective and state farms. On the contrary, it grants land to collective and state farms for permanent ownership. So far they were only entitled to use it. The harvest did not belong to them and the state bought it up dirt cheap," Nikonov said.

By declaring that land is the property of all the people, the bill vests the Councils of People's Deputies and not the departments, as was previously the case, with the right to administer it.

The bill also provides for soil protection, something quite new in Soviet legislation. Grants, as well as taxation and credit benefits will be given to farmers or husbandries that take proper care of their land and ensure sound ecological conditions. There is a new concept in the bill—conservation of degraded arable land.

The bill guarantees the protection of the lands of small nations and ethnic groups against their ruthless exploitation by departments. Such lands can be granted or confiscated only after a referendum is carried out among members of a given ethnic group.

A discussion of the bill then started after Nikonov's report.

Cites Findings of Poll

LD1602213290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1825 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Speech by deputy A. Nikonov, president of the USSR Agricultural Academy, at the 16 February session of the USSR Supreme Soviet session at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Analyzing the findings of a questionnaire poll carried out by the All-Union Public Opinion center and also other materials—in total we have received more than 7,000—the following picture emerges. Asked about the predominant form of farm management, the figures were as follows: 36 percent in favor of granting collective and state farms complete indedpendence; 22 percent in favor of creating and maintaining individual peasant farms; 42 percent in favor of combiningg the development of collective and state farms, peasant farms, and all other forms.

The Soviet people are, therefore, in favor of diversity and pluralism of forms, which is quite natural given the variety of natural, social, demographic and historical conditions, traditions, etc. in our country.

Eighty-seven percent were in favor of every person having the right to choose his own form of management, which indeed is something that was enshrined in 1917 and then forgotten. Fifty-nine percent were in favor of those leaving collective and state farms obtaining a plot of land. The overwhelming majority were sharply opposed to trading in land, that is, buying and selling.

As concerns methods of land transfer for peasant farms, the figures were as follows: One in three were in favor of lifelong ownership with the right of inheritance; one in four were happy with long-term leasing; one in five insisted on personal [lichnaya] property and one in 10 was against any change whatsoever.

Naturally there are regional variations here, and these are very pronounced.

Asked why people are indecisive in electing for peasant farming, the replies were as follows: There is no protection against interference by the authorities, there is no confidence in the irreversibility of the agrarian policy, opposition from collective and state farm managers, poor supplies, loss of independent farming skills. To say that there is nobody interested in running a farm is, therefore, false; there is, however, suffering and uncertainty.

The absolute majority of those who took part in the debate support the draft as it was published and adopted in its first reading. Only five percent do not approve of it, and one percent thinks that no law is needed at all. There is also approval of the fundamental concept based on lifelong ownership of land with the right of inheritance for peasants, the right to a free choice of forms of management, the right of every citizen in the country to a plot of land, the right of owners—peasants, collective or state farms—to run farms independently and dispose of the output they produce and the income obtained. [passage omitted]

News Conference on Land Bill

LD1602164290 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 16 Feb 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—"It is illusory that the new law on land, which is to make peasants independent, will make the Soviet Union an agriculture country in a year or two," Aleksandr Nikonov, president of the agricultural academy and Soviet deputy, said at a news conference today.

Nikonov noted the various situations in Soviet regions. The Baltic republics and other western areas previously had private farming traditions, and the new opportunities will quickly take root. But in Russia, for instance, collectivist and Artel traditions prevail.

"There could be two parallel trends in the Soviet countryside's socio-economic transformation," the scientist believes. "These are the voluntary co-production by independent farms and the evolution of collective and state farms into cooperatives."

The bill on land, its second reading is now being discussed, opens the way to land reform in the USSR, deputies said at the news conference. But to carry the land reform out it is necessary to have a mechanism that would include a land cadastre, land monitoring and other measures. The executive power must elaborate this mechanism.

Deputies Debate Land Bill

LD1602180990 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Deputy Sergei Lushchikov noted, on behalf of the parliamentary legislation committee, that the new edition of the law grants union republics extensive possibilities for specifying provisions in accordance with their national and historical traditions.

It is important that the law endorses a variety of forms of land management and recognises their equality, the deputy said. He disagreed with those who, during the nationwide discussion, said that the law is intended to destroy collective and state farms. The form of land management must be chosen by peasants themselves, with due account of specific conditions, and should not be imposed from above, Lushchikov stressed.

The future of collective farms was central in the debates at the session. Deputy Yevgeny Pokhsitailo, Omsk, Siberia, said the bill's main shortcoming was that its authors had fallen victim to the wide-spread opinion that collective and state farms are not viable. He proposed limiting the size of land plots allotted to families and banning the use of hired labour on family farms.

State farm director Ivan Shundeyev, Chelyabinsk, Ural, was surprisingly among the opponents of the above point of view. He doubted that collective and state farms were capable of overcoming the country's food shortages, even after massive financial subsidies.

Collective farm chairman Mukharam Mukhametzyanov, Tataraia, also favoured a variety of management forms.

Estonian deputy Ivar Raig was much more critical of the bill. He said it was conservative because it failed to mention private ownership of land.

Latvian scientist Arvid Grinovskis stressed that economic and psychological conditions were ripe for introducing private ownership of land in some regions of the country, while still far from mature in other regions. He proposed granting republics the right to decide independently, in their legislation, if the land managed by farmers and cooperatives should be progressively transferred to their ownership.

Debate is expected to continue on Tuesday, February 20.

Deputy Tikhonov Debates Land Ownership

LD1602224690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1635 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Remarks by Deputy Tikhonov at 16 February session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed deputies, I do not feel that the degree of my personal dissatisfaction with this draft is almost as great and is no less than that of those comrades who have just been criticizing it. However, I was very embarrassed this morning by a curious episode. When I was passing through the militia cordon a young man with epaulettes approached me and whispered: Act more energetically, you people there. It is no laughing matter, but people are laughing at you.

I do not think that he was expressing the general view. However, the dissatisfaction of those people who watch us on television and listen to us is evident.

In my view we should, I feel, ourselves answer the main question regarding the law on property. We are giving USSR citizens the right to free enterprise. We are giving the right of free enterprise to the collective of the present day state enterprises. We are giving them the right to secure earnings for themselves whereby the workers will exist not in poverty-stricken conditions but in decent conditions and will see for themselves some guiding goal.

I fear that it seems to me that this law does still not provide a positive answer to this question, and despite the fact that the law is indeed very revolutionary compared with, say, 1987 and perhaps with 1988 to some extent it is already lagging behind the year 1989. I think that the blinders that we still wear—and we are starting to view socialist property in the USSR through them—do not permit us to draw up a logical law reflecting the present-day requirements for the material conditions of life and work.

I think that none of us—even our outstanding theorists—could at the present time answer the question of what "socialist" means. Even if our leaders already recognize that we are proceeding along the path to socialism, this in no way means that we can at the present time define that something is socialist while, say, individual ownership of the means of production goes beyond the framework of socialism. I think that this is a phrase and a slogan that on the one hand is an obstacle to us and on the other hand, willingly or not, the authors of this draft law, even though perhaps they do not feel it themselves, are under the very strong and powerful influence of the state and the state apparatus and are very fearful in drawing up of any article or even any phrase which, as it were, lessens the economic power of the state apparatus over production. I think that this is our chronic disease, and it is very dangerous.

Now regarding the property of the citizen. Does the law give the citizen a guarantee of independent entrepreneurial activity. I think not.

Let me now take a look at the present-day peasant. He has, it seems, been formally given the right to be a leaseholder and to farm freely. He cannot practice this right because he is held in a vise. On the one hand there are the local ruling bodies of executive power and on the other hand he is under the sway of those chairmen of collective farms who use the land allotted to the collective farm—and just ponder on this—precisely as a means of exploitation, setting completely excessive and exorbitant leasehold payments both for land that is not the property of the collective farm and for the means of production which are the property nominally of the collective farm members but are actually in the full possession of the director or the administering chairman. Unfortunately, our law does not provide a guarantee for free farming, because it does not give the peasant the opportunity to possess land. The first few articles on the subject of land are very vaguely worded.

I am not against the principle of the ownership of land—the unrestricted ownership of land which is being discussed here, but is it possible for us at the present time to get unrestricted ownership of the land by the peasant? A total of 227.7 million hectares of arable land are at present being worked in our country. Of this area 227.3 million hectares are assigned predominantly to the collective and state farms and certain other enterprises. There is no free land. This means that, if the peasant wants to farm independently, there is no land.

Furthermore, we are writing radical formulations into this law and the law on land that have already been replaced on the basis of this draft, to the effect that the collective farm remains the permanent—note that, the permanent—owner of the land. We are enshrining in law the landlessness of the individual peasant, but we are driving him into the embrace of the exploiter, who at present is the chairman of the collective farm or the director of the state farm. This, of course, does not apply to all of them. Please understand me. I have already heard a lot of threats from chairmen. This does not worry me, but I repeat again that this does not apply to all of them. However, the stronger the collective farm, the harsher the hand of the chairman. This is precisely the reason for the strength of the collective farm. But these are just minor details.

So then, with regard to collective property and private—or rather, individual property—I think—I shall be finishing very shortly—I think that we should write the following into Article 10: In cases provided for by the legislation of union and autonomous republics a plot of land owned by the farm may be transferred to the property of a peasant holding; but before this the implementation of land reform is undoubtedly necessary.

Finally—and I am coming to an end—I feel sorry for the judges who are going to run up against the regulation of this law and the application of this law. There are very many contradictions, and, although Leonid Ivanovich [Abalkin] was saying that it is the work of very balanced brains and the best brains—and I agree that they are the best brains—just think: The ownership of union and territorial formations and the ownership of enterprises. If you read Article 24 of this law, you will suddenly discover that in essence everything within the territory of a kray or oblast is transferred to the ownership of territorial soviets and their executive committees. The property of collective, independent and individual enterprises, it turns out, is all subordinated here to the property of the soviet. I think that this is simply an imprecision and not an error, but the law should be formulated more precisely.

Lastly, and I return again to land and Articles 20 and 21. Again I would ask you to consider this. Article 20 says that state property comprises the general property of Soviet citizens. [video shows Tikhonov holding his jacket] This is state property. I think this is very wrong. Why is this property of mine state property? But this is not the point. The point is the general one. Article 21 states that land is the common property of Soviet citizens. If one compares the two provisions of the law it turns out that land remains state property, and there is evidently a reluctance to state this in a forthright way and openly. The authors of the draft law presented the conclusion by way of this syllogism.

I think that this draft law requires very serious revision. Thank you.

Deputy Outlines 'Soyuz' Group Principles

LD1602170390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Remarks by Deputy Georgiy Komarev at the 16 February Supreme Soviet session in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade people's deputies, events in recent times give rise to grave concern for the fate of our homeland, our multinational motherland. Forces have appeared here which are prepared to set fire to our common home with the aim of warming their own hands at the embers. The objectives of these forces are clear, whatever happy slogans they might hide behind. All our complicated history is a testimony to the fact that the people and all their healthy forces can, at a time of difficulty for the country, consolidate and resist the destruction of our union, whether from outside or within. That said, it is important not to let the moment pass and not to permit destructive forces to take things too far. It is for precisely this reason that USSR people's deputies from all the regions and republics of our country got together yesterday and adopted a decision to set up the "Soyuz" deputies' group. The organising committee has charged me with telling the people's deputies about this and with setting out the key principles of the "Soyuz" group. They are few in number, but they constitute the basis for the platform that the USSR people's deputies will be able to receive and familiarize themselves with very soon. Allow me to set forth those basis points:

1. To fight to preserve the federal system and state integrity of the USSR.

2. To resist separatism, nationalism, and chauvinism within the country in any form or expression.

3. To strive toward the free development on a basis of equal rights of all the peoples, nations, nationalities, ethnic groups and of every citizen throughout the territory of the federal state.

4. To promote the acceleration, development and adoption of a package of most important economic laws, ensuring a way out of the social and economic crisis and the dynamic development of the country.

5. To create constructive foundations for substantially improving the quality of the environment and the living conditions of the population throughout the territory of the federal state.

The "Soyuz" deputies' group places no restrictions on the number of members and is not setting up bureaucratic internal management structures. It can see the possibility for extensive cooperation with all other parliamentary deputies' groups. One hundred and three USSR people's deputies have today indicated a desire to take part in the work of his parliamentary group. We imagine that amongst those people's deputies here present, who are concerned for the fate of our country and seriously alarmed by events of recent months and days, others will be found who would like to take part in our work. We suggest that those deputies express that desire by coming either to myself or to Deputy Alksnis. Thank you for your attention.

Political & Social

Shcherbitskiy Dies After 'Serious Illness'

LD1702185990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers are reporting with deep regret that on 16 February, Vladimir Vasilyevich Shcherbitskiy passed away after a serious illness. He was member of the CPSU Central Committee, people's deputy of the USSR, twice Hero of Socialist Labor, personal pensioner of all union designation, and former first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. The obituary was signed by leaders of the Communist Party and of the Soviet state.

Gorbachev, Others Sign Obituary

LD1702192190 Moscow TASS in English 1912 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, February 17 TASS—Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, former chief of the Ukrainian Communist Party, died on Friday [17 February] at the age of 71 after a long illness.

His obituary, signed by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, said that Shcherbitskiy exerted much effort to promote the economic, social and cultural development of the Soviet Ukraine and the entire country at all party and government posts he had held. The obituary also noted Shcherbitskiy's qualities as an organiser and his great sense of responsibility for the tasks he was charged with.

Shcherbitskiy headed the Ukrainian Communist Party since 1972 till his retirement in 1989. He was member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee from 1971 till 1989, and sat on the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet from 1972 to 1989.

Shcherbitskiy was twice awarded the title of the Hero of Socialist Labour. He has many other rewards. He is also the Lenin prize winner.

Ukrainian Leaders Attend Funeral

LD1902155890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Ukrainian communists and the republic's working people today saw off on his last journey Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee, people's deputy of the USSR, personal pensioner of union-wide rank, and former first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee.

The hall where the coffin containing the body of the deceased had been placed was decked out in mourning. In the hall were numerous wreaths. One of them was from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers. Two golden stars of a Hero of Socialist Labor and other awards marking Shcherbitskiy's services to the motherland lay on crimson velvet.

The mourning vigil was kept by Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Shevchenko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium; Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers; other republican leaders; and representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations and labor collectives.

A mourning meeting was held at the cemetery where Vladimir Vassilyevich Shcherbitskiy was buried.

PRAVDA: Perestroyka, Democracy Under Attack

PM1602181190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Defend Perestroyka!"]

[Text] The country is living through complex and contradictory times. The ideas and policy of perestroyka are penetrating ever deeper into the thick of social life, and the magma of impatience is bubbling increasingly fiercely deep within society's strata, threatening to erupt as volcanic lava.

The policy of revolutionary renewal has sharply accelerated our development. Simultaneously, it has torn dried, hardened bandages off bleeding wounds. There has been a painful aggravation of problems which have been building up in our society over the years and decades, poisoning it with the toxins of destruction and hatred. The confirmation of these conclusions is there for everyone to see—the consumer market imbalance, the interethnic conflicts, the weakening of elementary order and responsibility in the country. For the benefit of inadequately informed readers, here is a striking word collocation from the latest MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] reports on events in Dushanbe: "the slaughter of persons of European nationality..."

Almost five years have passed since the party mapped out the course of renewal, and they have shown that the acuteness of the problems and the scale of the necessary transformations have proved much greater than could have initially been imagined. The draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th party congress self-critically states: To this have been added the mistakes and miscalculations committed during the implementation of the reforms themselves.

The country is at a decisive stage. People want a normal, human life and call for the stabilization of the situation. They call for a public order guaranteeing the security of everyone. The key question of the day is this—on what basis will this stabilization take place. On the basis of and with help from the emerging and strengthening democratic institutions, on the basis of ethnic (including interethnic) accord—or via the "tightening of the screws," the strong-arm methods tried and tested in the past. Over the years of perestroyka we have come to know the taste of freedom, but we also remember well the bitterness of the lack of freedom, we sense the bitter taste of past civic humiliation.

Our choice—and this was reaffirmed by the Central Committee February Plenum and the political markers it adopted—is a humane and democratic socialism. Suitable means—humane and democratic—do exist for the attainment of this goal. But humanism and democracy cannot and must not remain defenseless in the face of impending civil confrontation, chaos, and instability.

Unfortunately, this danger has recently become increasingly discernible. With a persistence worthy of better application, pressure is being exerted on the country's political and state leadership and on local organs of power. Specific deadlines are set, planned mass actions with destructive objectives are scheduled, active and well-coordinated organizational work is being done—including in electoral okrugs and among labor collectives. Regardless of the already tense economic situation, strike calls can be heard—evidently based on the principle "the worse—the better."

We all must think about this carefully. At numerous rallies and demonstrations honest people advocate primarily the acceleration of the pace of perestroyka and democratization; the demands they promote do not, as a rule, diverge from the spirit and letter of the changes taking place in society. There was also much that was positive in what was advanced by the participants in the 4 February march in Moscow and in rallies in other cities in the country. But something else must also be noticed: Only too often rallies and demonstrations take the shape of a distinctive legalization of extremism, only too often there are destructive calls to be seen among other slogans—be it the proclamation of the start of a new "February democratic revolution," demands "to recognize as illegal all antipeople structures in the country," or proclamations that perestroyka is "a strategy for salvaging the existing regime of the party-state apparatus." At the same time, people who have made "careers" out of struggling against the "apparatus" are now openly striving to create their own apparatus and use it to seize power. Could it be that some irresponsible orators actually wish to see the crowd inspired by them storming the Kremlin or Lubyanka? What sense of realism and reason must one possess to even hint at such a turn of events?

So, what are the goals being set by people who lay claim to leadership here? As a matter of fact, just before the Moscow demonstration, the second conference of the "Interregional Association of Democratic Organizations" was held in Vilnius on 2-4 February. The keynote speech bluntly expressed the opinion that the question of power—of creating a coalition government—should be raised in the very near future. True enough, the speaker still deemed unacceptable the slogan "Soviets Without Communists," which is being vigorously proclaimed. Pluralism is still permitted here.... But on the other hand, one of the organizers of the so-called "socialist party" told a BBC correspondent: "Our position is this—not pluralism with the CPSU but pluralism instead of the CPSU."

What kind of scenario are the leaders of extreme tendencies in movements, calling themselves democratic, choosing for themselves and for the people? You do not have to look far for examples—some people have bluntly stated that the peoples of the East European countries have "outstripped us, left us behind." This statement needs to be carefully and calmly analyzed. In the first place, the situation in East Europe is by no means uniform, just as the countries themselves and the pace and character of the renewal movements differ. Second, it would be absurd to deny that the process of change started on Soviet soil and that perestroyka was and is a major condition and stimulus of the rapid transformations in our western neighbors. Third, one cannot help marveling at the stereotypes and "mirror images" in the thinking and the assessments: Whereas in the past we used to impose our own standards on the peoples of these countries as a matter of course, to the point where a Soviet ambassador was able to measure the depth of the plowed soil in a field by the road and, finding it insufficient, berate the leader of the fraternal party (this actually happened in one country in the early fifties), now the situation has turned the other way around. Some people are again in the grip of paternalistic stereotypes and are slavishly copying down to the smallest detail such forms as the opposition "roundtable," the political strike, and so on. And what about those who keep looking to the West and appealing for its support—even in the literal sense, when a group of people's deputies, THE WASHINGTON TIMES reported, asked the White House to send representatives from the U.S. Congress to the Soviet Union to—would you believe it?—observe the elections in various parts of our country. What this indicates most—a lack of confidence in our own resources, or an inability to face the realities of our country—is difficult to say.

We have behind us a long, hard, and tragic history. And this history is with us. It holds on to us and will not let go. And one certainly does not need to delve deep into the past to be able to forecast the potential course of events. Indeed, how acutely painful for us is Pushkin's prophetic warning of a rebellion, senseless and merciless; and how strong is the memory of the blood of the thirties and forties, of what happened and is happening in our land today, now.... Bitter historical experience shows that in our long-suffering fatherland one can scarcely expect "kid-gloved" coups and "gentle" revolutions. And whereas until recently the main danger of left-wing radicalism was that above all it provoked the activities of right-wing, nationalist and chauvinist reaction (and this remains the main danger today), now the extremes are increasingly coming together, combining in negativism, in destructive negation, where all flags—from "Nina Andreyevist" to simple Andreyevist—are united by "perestroyka" terminology.... The healthy forces of society cannot, must not stand on the sidelines and adopt a passive stance when the main, real achievement of perestroyka—democracy—is being attacked under cover of "democratic" slogans.

The Stalinist structures are crumbling today—and rightly so—and all that is dead and outmoded is becoming a part of the past. But what we are doing must be completed; it is not an explosion, it is not destruction. It is the radical, fundamental perestroyka of the entire social edifice. It is a consolidating dialogue with all those who share the desire for stabilization in society on the basis of the renewal of socialism, the radical transformation of the party, and the stable functioning and development of constitutional, democratic institutions, including the introduction of the post of president of the country. We must defend our perestroyka as a revolution which is only worth something if it can defend itself. And we will defend it against violence and political vulgarity, against ignorance and philistinism, against folly and destruction. We will move toward a new society that is humane and democratic. That is the sound basis for the unification of all the country's healthy forces—workers, peasants, intelligentsia, communists, and nonparty people.

'Outspoken Attacks' on Party Leaders at Rally

LD1802180590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] About 6,000 citizens of Gorkiy responded to an appeal by the Candidates for Democracy association, founded in the city, and came to the Minin and Pozharskiy Square for a pre-election meeting today. USSR people's deputies as well as the leaders of the oblast CPSU committee and oblast executive committee participated. However, they did not manage to compare the platforms of the candidates.

Some of the speakers showered outspoken attacks on the leaders of the party and the local soviet bodies of the city and oblast. Along with constructive and fair criticism, demagogical and inciting calls were directed at them.

The dialogue did not take place. The meeting organizers read a resolution which demanded the resignation of the party and local soviet leaders and demanded that those candidates who had no rivals should drop out of the electoral campaign.

Prokofyev Gives Report on Party Platform

LD1602184690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] A plenum today of the city party committee was devoted to a discussion of the draft CPSU platform for the 28th party congress. Comrade Prokofyev, first secretary of the committee, gave a report. He said:

[Begin Prokofyev recording] This plenum of the city party committee has been convened at an alarming time for the country and party. The contradictions in all areas of social life and the political struggle continue to be aggravated, producing explosive tension.

The socioeconomic situation is being aggravated by an imperfect legal basis and the inability of certain state bodies to apply the legislation in force. The interethnic conflicts, which are already affecting a significant part of our country, have reached tragic dimensions.

For the first time in Moscow we have been confronted with strikes staged on political grounds. A no less complex situation has arisen within the party itself. Divisive lines have been noted, a separatist mood is increasing, the party rules are practically nonoperational, and discipline is breaking down.

Under these circumstances adequate and resolute political actions are essential. Communists had a right to expect such actions from the last plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. And, although the overall balance of assessments of that plenum is positive, nevertheless, it must be recognized that expectations have not been fully justified. Having been at least a year late in working out the party platform, the authors of the documents were forced to hurry and to allow lack of clarity and vagueness on a number of very important positions.

Communists are expressing serious criticisms in view of the fact that the document was not published beforehand, while the version put forward for discussion by the Central Committee plenum did not reflect a number of fundamental proposals which had been supported by many party members and party organizations. This was discussed at the plenum of the Central Committee itself. The editorial commission attempted to take account of the basic comments of the participants. As a result, the published draft platform became acceptable for discussion by party organizations, although it still leaves a number of questions.

We will only be able to give a comprehensive assessment of the draft platform after discussion of it in the lower party echelons. But even today the declarative nature of certain of its sections is obvious and makes them reminiscent of a collection of pre-election promises.

In criticizing the past, the party must analyze its present practice more self-critically. A colossal reorientation of its activity lies ahead. The role of the party's political dialogue with the main social forces and strata in society is growing all the time. The necessity of an active search for supporters and a struggle with ideological opponents arises. These new tasks are not defined in the draft platform today. Having secured these positions, the CPSU will once more assert its resolution to carry out policy through communists and through its confederates. [end recording]

CPSU Central Committee Membership Data

90UN0873A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, 3-9 Feb 90 p 6

[Article by V. Sazonov: "The CPSU Central Committee and Perestroyka"]

[Text] **As they say, statistics know everything. But does everyone know statistics? I am almost certain not to be mistaken if I say that practically nobody knew what was published in issue No's. 1, 2, 5, and 6 of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS. Yet there is, undoubtedly, interest in it because for the first time in the memory of several generations in the open press there appeared information abut members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee (separately for the Politburo) and the Central Audit Commission (TsRK).**

Let us try to systematize and generalize the data that were published about members of the central party institutions.

The 28th CPSU Congress elected 307 members and 170 candidate members to the Central Committee and 83 members to the Central Audit Commission. By February of last year there were 303 members of the Central Committee left, after the April (1989) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee their number had been reduced to 251, and after the September Plenum—to 249; the number of candidate members of the Central Committee also decreased to 108. Let us analyze the membership of the CPSU Central Committee before and after April 1989.

First of all let us note that among the 303 members of the CPSU Central Committee there were 288 men and only 15 women.

The proportion of women in the CPSU Central Committee before April 1989 was five percent and at the April Plenum three of the women were released from the Central Committee because they went on pension and four were added so the situation changed very little because of this. Now women comprise six percent of the CPSU Central Committee while they comprise about one-third of the party as a whole.

About 45 percent of the party are now workers and about 12 percent are agricultural workers, that is, on the whole more than half of the membership of the CPSU—57 percent—are employed in the production sphere. But in the CPSU Central Committee before April 1989 there were only 15 industrial workers and seven agricultural workers—a total of 22 or about seven percent. After the April Plenum the "worker-peasant contingent" increased to 29 and the number in the Central Committee decreased somewhat, and the proportion of industrial and agricultural workers in it increased to approximately 11 percent. One automatically recalls Lenin's appeal to "workerize" the Central Committee which he left in the party "will." Vladimir Ilich suggested adding to the existing 27 members of the Central Committee workers "from the machine tools," striving to bring their proportion up to two-thirds of the Central Committee and thus placing the professional "leaders" under their control.

Symbiosis of Management Positions

There are now 560 people in the central party institutions and 500 of them are officials: ministers, department heads, first secretaries of republic and obkom [oblast party committee] central committees, commanders of military districts, and so forth.

At the 27th Congress all 15 first secretaries of central committees of communist parties of union republics were elected to the Central Committee. There are now 12 of them left because one died—Grishnyavichyus (Lithuania)—and two—Kunayev (Kazakhstan) and Usmankhodzhayev (Uzbekistan)—were removed from the Central Committee roster. On the whole there is quite an impressive representation of party workers in the highest leadership organ of the CPSU—110 people. These are first and second secretaries of Communist Parties of union republics, obkoms, kraykoms [kray party committees], and gorkoms [city party committees], and officials of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee. True, the April Plenum immediately removed 35 representatives of the highest echelon of party leadership from the Central Committee membership roster, replacing them with only six, but after that the proportion of official party workers in the Central Committee practically did not decrease (compare: 110 of the 303 and 85 of the 251).

A powerful group in the Central Committee is made up of ministers and their deputies—94 people (they include chairmen of councils of ministers and their deputies); and the "platoon" of the Ministry of Defense is the largest and includes almost all the deputy ministers (15 people). On the whole, the military department had 26 people on the Central Committee (after the April Plenum, true, there were only 17...)!

Many have probably noticed that since the 19th Party Conference there have been no more joint decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. It seems that there was a separation of party and state functions. But the party activists of the highest rank and the leaders of the leading branches of the national economy and such branches as the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, the Ministry of Defense together comprise almost two-thirds of the Central Committee and this means that essentially nothing has changed—the adoption of "joint decisions" is actually continuing within the framework of the Central Committee.

One cannot but agree with the conclusion that suggests itself: Practically all the leading party organs—from top to bottom—are formed mainly according to the position principle. And this is confirmed by the existence in the Central Committee of "indispensable members"—the USSR procurator general, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, the chairman of the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Trade Union Council], and others.

About Age and Dates

This being the case, can one be surprised at the "advanced years" of the majority of members of the Central Committee? In spite of the fact that at the 27th Congress actually one-third of the members of the Central Committee were replaced (108 new members entered it), on the whole the spread of ages looked like this: born in 1898- 1910—58, in 1920-1929—129, in 1930-1939—98, in 1940-1949—only 11, and 1950-1959—four people!

Thus there are still 185 current and potential pensioners on this Central Committee—61 percent. Practically two-thirds of the members of this organ, which was to be in charge of the perestroyka proclaimed by the party, were people of pension age. Was the party right to select this kind of Central Committee and then expect it to show dynamism, revolutionary energy, flexibility, and innovative thinking?!

Practically immediately after the congress members of the newly elected Central Committee began to fill out applications for personal pensions: in 1986 there were seven, in 1987—13, in 1988—31, and in 1989 (by the time of the April Plenum)—21. A fact that is unheard of in the history of our party: After the 27th CPSU Congress 10 members who had been elected to the Central Committee for the first time went on pension. (Let us add that after the September Plenum 26 members and 14 candidate members of the Central Committee and also four members of the Central Audit Commission went on pension).

Incidentally, about dates. Among the 303 members of the Central Committee there were 98 who had been in the central party institutions (Central Committee and Central Audit Committee) for three years; eight years—63; 13 years—43; 18 years—47; there was one person with a tenure of 19 years; 23 years—22 people; 28 years—20 people; 30 years—one person; 33 years—two people, and 37 years—six people. Thus there was a total of 142 members of the Central Committee who had held office in the central party institutions for not two terms but more—up to seven terms! It is not difficult to understand why at the 19th Party Congress they defeated the suggestion to immediately put into effect the decision to limit the time in office in leadership posts to two terms. This would have forced too many of them to abandon the chairs to which they had become accustomed...

One should not think that this pertains only to party functionaries and ministers. There are "old timers" among the workers too. The construction worker V.A. Zatvornitskiy already has 18 years. M.I. Klepikov, a kolkhoz [collective farm] brigade leader, has 23 years, and A.Ya. Kolesnikov, a miner, has 18 years.

Academician A.P. Aleksandrov was elected to the Central Committee at the 27th Congress at the age of 83 after he had held office in the central institutions of the CPSU for 27 years; A.K. Antonov—74 and 25 years, respectively; N.K. Baybakov—75 and 30; I.S. Gustov—75 and 25; M.V. Zimyanin—72 and 34; B.N. Ponomarev—81 and 34; Ye.P. Slavskiy—88 and 25; N.A. Tikhonov—81 and 25; and A.M. Shkolnikov—72 and 34.

The April Plenum was unable to carry out any kind of serious rejuvenation of the party's central organ. Only 24 candidates were promoted to be members of the CPSU Central Committee, and five of them were over 60 years old, 12 were from 52 to 58, five—from 44 to 49, and only one was 38 years old.

One is confused by the fact that the fairly solid candidate corps of the Central Committee produced such an insignificant augmentation of its basic membership. After all, it was conceived as a reserve of higher party leadership but the decades of the functioning of the nomenklatura system have led to a situation where only individuals occupying certain—fairly high—positions could be candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee.

One more question. With a vanguard of almost 20 million, has the party reserve really become so scarce that the party had to appoint the 67-year-old I.K. Lutan to the Central Committee after he had been away for 10 years? And why? So they could send him off on a pension in three years?...

And at the 27th Congress the election to the Central Committee of such "activists" of the period of stagnation as the former minister of water management, N.F. Vasilyev (in 1986 he was 70 years old and for 20 of these years he was a member of the Central Committee) or the former first secretary of the Yaroslav CPSU Obkom, F.I. Loshchenkov, from whom the Yaroslav residents took away the mandate of a delegate to the 19th All-Union Party Conference for his "outstanding achievements" in the collapse of the economy and culture of the region (incidentally, at the time he was elected as a new member of the Central Committee where he had already served for 25 years he was 71 years old and quite recently he had gone on a pension)—do examples like these really not show that many communists (I have in mind congress delegates) have lost their understanding of the fact that the CPSU Central Committee is a militant, working organ that demands of its members self-sacrificing, unwavering enthusiasm and not just their honored presence?

It would seem that the forthcoming 28th CPSU Congress—about which more and more communists are saying that it should be convened early—should resolutely renew the Central Committee and introduce into the new CPSU regulations the requirement of regular replacement (at each regular congress) of a minimum of one-third of the members of the Central Committee. Fresh, young blood should constantly be pulsating through the party and its leadership as a guarantee against stagnant phenomena and all kinds of cults and minicults, becoming accustomed to privileges, and so forth.

Razumovskiy on Local Personnel Changes

LD1802232390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Interview with Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, candidate member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by presenter Sergey Slipchenko in the studio; from the "Seven Days" program; date of interview not given—recorded]

[Text] [Slipchenko] The headlines "Wave of Resginations," "Extraordinary Plenum," and "Special Plenum" are appearing in the papers virtually every other day. And a new term has now appeared: the velvet revolution. This is what people's demands for the resignation of a number of party leaders are more and more often being called. In our studio today is Georgiy Petrovich Razumovskiy, candidate member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. What do you think? What is the explanation for this trend? And is this a trend at all? Will it be repeated in the coming weeks, days, and months?

[Razumovskiy] I wouldn't describe it as a trend. The several cases that have received wide publicity in society are not on the whole characteristic of the process of cadre renewal that has been taking place in our country quite intensively recently. I will quote the statistics: 163 secretaries of our central committees of republican communist parties, kray committees, and oblast committees were replaced last year, or one in every five, including 38 first secretaries, one in four. This is taking place within the framework of the prescribed procedures and, in the recent period, on an increasingly wide-ranging democratic basis—as a rule, after wide-ranging consultation with party organizations and communists and on a multi-candidate basis.

There will evidently be further changes as the congress draws nearer and we enter the report-back election campaign. We know about them. The reasons are very diverse and numerous. In a number of party organizations, the replacement of the leadership has indeed taken place under abnormal circumstances, under active pressure from communists and the public who were dissatisfied with the course of perestroyka in the localities.

[Slipchenko] But all these publications write about a revolution precisely from below, and at the moment Lenin's slogan is very often being recalled: Those above cannot and those below don't want to live as they have before. And this is precisely how they are explaining people's political activism. What do you think: Is this a spontaneous process or is there someone behind this process?

[Razumovskiy] People no longer understand their work in the old fashion. Party organization and party committees, in their decisions and in their actions, do not rely on the opinions or the help of communists and non-party people. There is an absence of a clear position; and an inability, and at times an unwillingness, to find a point of contact and work constructively with various movements is revealed. Some leaders have unfortunately continued to err in this, hence the increase in the negative attitude to such workers, especially those who display a lack of modesty in personal issues.

But there is something else, too. Sometimes there are attempts to artificially whip up tension, to intensify dissatisfaction to an extreme degree. The faults of individual personalities are used for attacks against the party organization as a whole, and sometimes against the party, to shift onto its shoulders the reponsibility for everything. In some places many railway cars have accumulated at depots and the reproach is addressed to the party committee. If the water or heat supply is disrupted—an interruption in the municipal services—complaints are also addressed to the same people.

It is noteworthy that there has been an intensification of these complaints on the eve of the elections. They can currently be heard frequently. Party slogans are often appropriated here, where the situation is assessed in a self-critical manner, including in the localities. Party directives are put forward as the program demands of particular individuals. I don't want to offer excuses for the party committees; but, you know, we all favor them getting on with their own affairs. We are trying to delineate their functions and concentrate their activity first of all on political methods of influencing labor collectives and the individual. They must be allowed time for this work. They should not be coordinators or financial managers.

[Slipchenko] Georgiy Petrovich these people who are gaining a place as a result of this revolution from below, are they always worthy of this? Who are the replacements of those who have resigned?

[Razumovskiy] That's the main question of cadres policy. We know that in a number of oblasts there are rather complex and unstable situations. Sometimes ultimatums are heard in an emotional atmosphere for the immediate replacement of the leadership, secretaries, and members of the oblast committee Bureau. In some places this has already taken place. Provisional bureaus of party committees have been set up and entrusted with tasks of preparing report-back election party conferences. These are people who enjoy the trust of communists, who try to justify it.

Incidentally, some party committees did not agree to demands for an immediate replacement of the leadership, after consulting with the party organizations. They went to labor collectives and the primary party organizations for wide-ranging consultation and obtained support and a virtual vote of confidence to prepare and conduct forthcoming party conferences.

In this connection, the center and localities should draw lessons and practical conclusions from the situation that is taking shape. These are various. I would like to stress this. The very process of cadre replacement is proceeding and will continue to proceed. The question is who are the replacements? Who will be the replacements? We must avoid the mistake of randomness. This is why we need a thorough, considered, and well-thought out approach in the selection of candidacies from the multitude of worthy ones, on a multicandidate basis.

[Slipchenko] The final question. The economic situation is becoming worse and worse, and it is turning out that the democracy of holding meetings is distracting people from the economy and from production and destabilizing an already unstable situation. Industry is falling to pieces, and as a result there is a deterioration in people's social lives.

[Razumovskiy] In any case, there are those voices. We read in letters that greater calm and consideration are needed, concentration on solving the tasks—economic ones, primarily—from which a perception will ensue of the real results of perestroyka that our Soviet people expect.

[Slipchenko] Thank you very much for coming to our studio, and thank you for this conversation.

Yeltsin Interview on Party Congress

LD1802150690 Moscow World Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From "The Soviet Union, Day By Day" program, "our interview" feature with Boris Yeltsin, CPSU Central Committee member, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not specified]

[Text] This is "The Soviet Union, Day by Day" from Radio Moscow's world Service. Next we have "our Interview."

A CPSU Central Committee plenum was held in Moscow in February. Boris Yeltsin, Of The CPSU Central Committee member, tells our correspondent what he thought of the plenum results:

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, you were the only Central Committee member to vote against the proposed CPSU Central committee platform. Why was that?

[Yeltsin] The platform, or the draft platform, was, of course, the subject of very heated and animated discussion, which sometimes overstepped the boundaries of normal political debate. Diametrically opposite and mutually exclusive complex proposals were made. I put forward 12 proposals, of which four were accepted, three accepted slightly and five rejected. I upheld each point, of course, and spoke several times.

So why did I vote against it? First, they included a provision in the platform endorsing the economic recovery program submitted by the government at the Second USSR Congress of People's Deputies. At the Second Congress I spoke against that program as one that did not contain real measures for economic recovery and failed to stimulate emergency measures to improve people's lives; it was put together in the traditional spirit. I both spoke and voted against it. And now the draft platform proposes that it be endorsed. But if I voted against it then how can (?I vote for it now)?

Next, of the points that I put forward—they were not all entirely my own, some were taken from the platform of the Democratic Platform, which consists of representatives of party clubs and party organizations in 102 towns—the following were not included.

First, renunciation of the principle of democratic centralism. Second, renunciation of the apparatus as a tool of power and the adoption of democratic principles of self-management through elected bodies alone. Multipartyism. True, it's stated that it will be possible in future to create parties and so on, and that the Party is giving up its monopoly of power. Well, this is perhaps not so fundamedntal, but the word multipartyism has actually disappeared.

Furthermore, I believe that in adopting multipartyism we shall have to test a formula under which individual fractions and platforms could exist within individual parties. This would be an interesting transition period which would create not a situation of unanimity and unity of ideas, but a debate from various new points of view. (?But alas), there are as yet no fractions, platforms or movements, and this is ruled out categorically. This is no change in the Party structure generally, no transition to a system with a horizontal structure built on a system of self-administration. As for the direct election of delegates to the congress in the primary Party organizations, this has again been set aside for the time being and will be discussed for the time being in the primary party organizations. The mass media should be made directly subordinate to the congress or the party conference, because this would make them more free.

No. I think that the present composition of the Central Committee is conservative and that it is unable to prepare in a democratic way the 28th Party Congress or the apparatus. It is necessary to put an end to the activity of the Central Committee and to create an organizing committee from representatives of party organizations from the localities. This independent organizing committee should prepare the 28th Congress. This proposal, too, was not adopted. I had grounds to vote against, even though I think that, nonetheless, the platform which has been adopted is, if not a step forward, then at least half a step forward. This is today some sort of reduction of tension before the 28th Party Congress, and this is what I have been waiting for such a long time—when Gorbachev, himself, personally, would take at least half a step toward the left, toward the center. And the drawing closer together of the center and the left is precisely what will give rise to the force which will go in for radical reforms and so on.

[Unidentified correspondent] A market system has now been introduced in Poland and, nonetheless, at the Congress of Peoples Deputies many representatives of various circles said that if a market system is to be introduced, then it is primarily the people who will suffer. But, nonetheless, the people of Poland are still welcoming this system and it seems that the market has begun to work. What do you think? Is this a good argument in favor of our going over to the market?

[Yeltsin] This is an additional argument in its favor. I am in favor of a market system. But I am in favor of the government's working out a mechanism for a transitional period—a mechanism for going over to a market system, to a market economy. It is a great pity—and that is why I voted against—that the government did not propose such a mechanism. It was my task and my duty to dispute this. But we are used to this, to these slogans. And this is a fault of this draft platform. There are too many general slogans and appeals.

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, you said that a half step has been taken. Do you think the present leadership is capable of taking the other half step in that direction?

[Yeltsin] I think that the present composition is not capable; and it should be changed at the 28th congress. I am not speaking about Gorbachev, personally. Perhaps, with different components, with a different Politburo and Central Committee...[changes thought] He is capable and has not exhausted all of his possibilities. And if one is to speak about cooperation between us, then I say that I am ready to cooperate with him, provided we are not standing with him on the right and me on the left.

[Unidentified correspondent] If a presidential form of government is proposed for the union level, one can hope that there will be a presidential form of government in Russia, too.

[Yeltsin] In my program I have written that I am in favor, in principle, of a presidential form of government in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR], of the whole of the RSFSR's being made, instead of an appendage of the center, into an autonomous Russia, a Russian republic, an autonomous one. And not just in the internal market but in international relations, too.

[Unidentified correspondent] How would you formulate it? What are the essential conditions for constructive cooperation between President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin, if, let us suppose, there will be a President Yeltsin?

[Yeltsin] When I am asked questions which, so to say, are decided in heaven, I say do not provoke me.

[Second correspondent] In view of your vote, will you continue to be a member of the party?

[Yeltsin] Why not? I do not see the connection in this question. Pluralism of opinions implies that some members of the Central Committee have one opinion while other members of the Central Committee have a different one. But if during the whole history...[changes thought] Gavriil Popov has just called me up to say that he went through all the documents and did not find a single case in history in which one person has voted against, but now there is such a situation; does this mean that I should leave the party? No, it doesn't. It does not mean this, because I think that after discussion of this draft in the primary organizations it will be greatly amended. And if there are democratic elections of delegates to the 28th congress, then at the 28th congress it will be amended further and come somewhat closer to what I spoke of.

[Unidentified correspondent] Boris Nikolayevich, how do you see the further development of the CPSU: in the direction of social democracy or some sort of perestroyka on the basis of communist traditions?

[Yeltsin] It is necessary to make use of all the opportunities for the renewal of the party, its real democratic basis. It is necessary to try out this chance; if it does not succeed, then a different party should be created. Perhaps I will.

Anti-Semitic Pogrom Rumors Refuted

LD1902212390 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—Israel's illegal actions—the creation of settlements on occupied Arab lands—run counter to generally recognized standards of international law and undermine efforts to achieve a just solution to the Palestinian problem. This was stressed at a meeting with journalists held at the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public.

It was pointed out that the Soviet public was indignant over plans of the Israeli leadership to settle immigrants coming from the Soviet Union on occupied Arab lands. There were 13,000 of them last year.

Representatives of the Anti-Zionist Committee expressed solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine against Zionist colonisation. They recalled that the Soviet Union had urged the convocation of the U.N. Security Council to discuss Israel's illegal actions.

The collection "Perestroika and Jewish Problem" brought out by the Anti-Zionist Committee was shown to journalists at the meeting. It includes articles dealing with the development of Jewish culture and the activities of Jewish societies and organisations in the USSR.

Yuriy Smirnov, Moscow's first deputy public prosecutor, refuted rumours about pogroms allegedly being prepared in the city.

Anti-Semite and Zionist groups that became more active recently advocate ideas of national exclusiveness and isolation and create a favourable atmosphere for kindling national strife. Law-enforcement agencies will put an end to any manifestations of racism or chauvinism, said Boris Voronov, head of the preventive service of the Soviet Interior Ministry.

Tajikistan Situation

Dushanbe Radio Reports on Tajikistan Situation

16th Tajik Central Commmittee Plenum Held

LD1702180990

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 17 February carries a one hour recording, intercepted in progress, from the 16th Plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, which was held in Dushanbe on 15 and 16 February.

At 1005 GMT, Gennadiy Gavrilovich Veselkov, secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, is given the floor and makes the following statement:

"Esteemed comrades, members of the plenum, participants in the meeting:

"I earnestly request that you refrain from becoming like a democracy. I very earnestly ask you this, as a communist, as a member of the Bureau in which we expressed our confidence today, and as a person. Such decisions are not taken by a mass meeting. There are almost 500 people in this hall; each one has his own view. But such a question must be subjected to a thorough investigation, on the basis of the minutes, on the basis of the facts, on the basis of the press. Listen, if we communists, heading the republic's party organization, choose to adopt decisions in an impromptu fashion, then we indeed need to be sent away to resign. [murmurs in the hall]

"Listen, we are talking about the fate of the Republic, about the fate of the people. We must not (?rush ahead) without thinking. Hear out the explanations, give a deadline [srok], and perhaps not only the Bureau but also the representatives, say, of the Plenum, must take part in this matter; representatives of justice must take part in this matter and examine it.

"Boris Karlovich, chairman of the Party Control Committee, the supreme supervisory body attached to the CPSU Central Committee, is here. I think that with his assistance, we will somehow find a correct solution and we will report to you. But we should not do so in the way we are carrying on now." [indistinct intervention from the hall]

"So then I am answering you. I am answering you. I am answering you. If we make a decision today, there will be even more trouble. A decision is not what we need. What is needed is an explanation and a careful investigation."

At the conclusion of Veselkov's statement, the floor is given to an unidentified male speaker, who says:

"Gennadiy Gavrilovich, Boris Karlovich:

"All my respect to Georgiy Vadimovich [Koshlakov, candidate member of the Bureau] and to you notwithstanding, I ask you to take into account one thing. Standing behind those people are thousands. Our decision and (?their) decision is being awaited. That is why each minute precious to us now. I ask you not to forget this. Comrades, today we must—I am agreeable to be here another 24 hours—but today we must, in the presence of the members of the Central Committee, of the members of the city party committee, get to the bottom of things, resolve these questions here and instruct the Bureau of the Central Committee to completely resolve the questions that have not been fully resolved."

Another unidentified speaker takes the floor and makes the following statement:

"Comrades [words indistinct] I am finishing. Allow me to say the following proposal is being submitted: The Bureau of the Central Committee is to be instructed to start today, now, directly in this hall, a party investigation into the statement of member of the Bureau of the Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Khayeyev, regarding the unconstitutional preparation of the draft decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic on the appointment to this post of Comrade Buri Bachabekovich Karimov and of the release from this post of Comrade Izatullo Khayayevich Khayeyev. We have a lot more business to deal with. We must get to work now. Yes, people are indeed waiting for us. If you trust us, if you want to set up a commission, we will form any commission and carry out a most thorough investigation. We will start right now in this hall. But we have not yet made a decision of the plenum. Therefore, permit me to propose a draft of our decision and let's finish the first question and then let's get to work.

"The following draft decision of the plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan, dated 15 February 1990, is being proposed: Having listened to and discussed Comrade Makhkamov's information, the plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee notes that the situation in the city of Dunshanbe is still tense. The acutely critical situation and the continuing disturbances have forced the republic's leadership, in the course of a joint meeting with a body that calls itself a people's committee, which was put forward by those who are taking part in mass meetings, to sign a protocol in accordance with which, so as to avoid further bloodshed, Comrades Makhkamov, Pallayev and Khayeyev decided to resign.

"The plenum of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee resolves:

"1. To resolutely condemn attempts by certain circles to act from a position of force and pressure on the lawfully elected party bodies and organs of government.

"Taking into account the situation that has arisen in the city of Dushanbe and in the Republic, the Plenum considers it impossible to accept in the given situation the resignation of Comrade Makhkamov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee.

"2. The Central Committee Plenum instructs the Bureau of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee to take exhaustive measures to restore normal life and lift the state of emergency in the city of Dushanbe as soon as possible, and not to permit the development of negative events in other regions of the Republic.

"3. Party committees, leading communist officials and Soviet bodies locally are to ensure the resolution of questions which were raised by the republic's population. They must be resolved along paths of a democratic dialogue, jointly with other public entities, consolidating all healthy forces in the process. Special attention is to paid to work among young people. Komsomol [Communist Youth League] members are to be widely enlisted into estabishing public order and maintaining discipline in student hostels at the place of study and in public places.

"4. The decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic on the formation of a commission for the objective and complete investigation into the disturbances and the causes of the death of people and for detecting the culprits and bringing them to book is to be supported.

"5. Member of the CPSU, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, Comrade Khayeyev, is to be instructed to ensure the uninterrupted operation of vitally important facilities, of transport, and the supply of the population with food products. Member of the CPSU, minister of internal affairs of the Tajik SSR, the commandant of the City of Dushanbe, Comrade Navzhuvanov, is to be instructed to pool the efforts of the law enforcement bodies to ensure citizens' safety, the observance of public order, and, jointly with the command of the military units and subunits, to take all measures necessary to normalize the situation in the republic's capital.

"6. The Press Center of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee and the mass media are to ensure that timely and objective information is provided on the events taking place and to give a resolute rebuff to any attempts to whip up ethnic dissension and to treat representatives of any nationality in a disrespectful way. The Bureau of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, oblast, town, and rayon party committees and primary party organizations, jointly with the soviets of people's deputies, are to take measures to conduct an election campaign to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic."

At 1029 GMT, the plenum begins discussing a mass meeting planned for 18 February in Dushanbe. The discussion opens with an unidentified man being given permisson to ask a question from the floor of the hall. He says: "Comrade (Sultanov) has raised the issue of a mass meeting on Sunday, the 12th [speaker mistates the date]. Does this mean that the state of emergency in the city has been lifted? Or are we already agreeing to the fact that [words indistinct] will be [word indistinct] a mass meeting?"

Another unidentified speaker then says: "Permit me (?to provide you) with some information. Well then, one must not submit a proposal here, in the heat of the moment. As far as the meeting is concerned, this should be given some proper thought. However, comrades, I will tell you that the situation is as follows: Well then, 5, 7, or 10 thousand people assemble. They keep coming closer, while soldiers stand their ground. So what happens next? Well, who will give me an answer? [murmuring in the hall]

"Comrades, this must be approached in a very balanced fashion. In the past, the last time, we... [changes thought] Crowds of people gathered in Lenin Square. If we had started breaking them up, we would have trampled half of them. The step we took was to say: Please, let's be careful. Here, you have a bullhorn; get going, exchange views peacefully. So four hours elapsed. We all stood there, and four hours later people left, quietly and calmly.

"Howver, we announced that we would assemble again on the 18th [correct date for Sunday] at 1200. This was announced out loud, for all the square to hear. Everything very much needs to be evaluated. Perhaps it would be possible to propose another venue and permit the meeting as an exception, possibly at the stadium, in an organized manner—as was done in Moscow with a mass meeting of 200,000—that is to say, for this meeting to be (?enclosed). An whole plan must be decided on. That is why... [unidentified speaker makes indistinct intervention from the floor] But no, there will not be such a mass meeting."

The unidentified man who asked the original question then interrupts, saying: "Whether or not there will be a meeting remains to be seen."

This exchange is followed by several more indistinct interventions from the floor. The recording then ends at 1100 GMT.

Pugo Views Tajikistan Situation

LD1802183790 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1417 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Interview with Boris Karlovich Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Commitee Politburo, by an undidentified interviewer; date not given, in Russian with pasage-by-passage translation into Tajik; following translated from the Russian]

[Excerpt] [Interviewer] Dear friends, very many letters, telegrams, and telephone calls related to the situation in our republic are coming in to us at the television these days. People are worried, people want to have detailed information on the situation in the republic and this is, of course, understandable. To answer these extremely urgent questions, we have invited Boris Karlovich Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, to our studio and he has kindly agreed to answer our questions. We are very grateful to you, Boris Karlovich.

Esteemed Boris Karlovich, you have spent a week here in Tajikistan. I think you have had time to study more deeply the situation and the state of affairs. One would like to learn your opinion on the situation that is in evidence to date. How do you evaluate it?

[Pugo] First of all, I would like to say that it is perhaps impossible to study a situation in depth in a week. But at the same time, I have seen a lot. It worked out such that I took part in two plenums of the party Central Committee. I participated in the work of the Dushanbe city aktiv. And apart from that, I have had very many meetings. We also met with representatives of the committee that was set up after the meeting. We met with representatives of the Rastakhiz. We had a very interesting and useful meeting with representatives of the creative intelligentsia, writers, and poets. We had a very useful, in my view, meeting with representatives of the clergy, which made many things clear. Finally, I had occasion to visit enterprises. We made many trips in town and met people. Very many people came to the party Central Committee and we had meetings with them there. In a word, I think I have grounds to say that I know with what Tajikistan is preoccupied today.

I would like to say quite simply that wounds have appeared on the body of the republic and on the body of the people. This is very painful. This is painful for all of us in the republic, and I believe the whole country feels the pain, too. Matters have taken a very bad turn. People have died in the wake of the events about which we all know. There are many wounded. It is very bad that huge damage has been caused to the economy. I believe that it is very bad that a crack has appeared in relations between people. I do not know whether you will agree with me or not, but I believe that in places a certain mistrust has developed between groups of the populace. And I believe that this mistrust hangs over everyone. Much has already been done to secure an improvement in the situation. We strolled through the city today, and noticed how many Dushanbe people had turned out for the Sunday voluntary labor day. The streets are being cleaned up, and those buildings whose windows were broken or which were burned down are being tidied up. I believe the people's mood is changing. People are starting to believe that the situation is not irremediable.

Nevertheless, people are beginning to believe that there is not some kind of hopelessness. In my opinion, the situation is difficult, but far from hopeless. And I think that it is very important that the representatives of practically all groups of the population realize that it is necessary to make compromises with one another. I want to hope that, nevertheless, the situation will continue to improve in the future. But, this will not come about by itself. Now it is very important that everyone who may have some kind of grievance or who has been hurt in some way appreciates that other people have the same kind of grievance.

However difficult it may be for us, each of us must strive to make compromises with each other. And we can only do that when this oppressive atmosphere ends. We must strive to make things such that the constant pressure on the bodies of authority is removed. Things are difficult at the moment for the government and for party bodies and there are difficulties at enterprises and educational establishments, but everyone of us in these difficult conditions must be given the opportunity to reflect deeply and ponder and begin to act. I have already had occasion to speak about how, during this time, serious changes in the republic have already taken place, started taking place.

Have we really ever had such plenums as have taken place recently? With a relay going on? With people being able to hear for themselves what was being said, and how, at the plenum? Did it settle all the questions? Probably not, because very many questions had built up. A great deal has to be changed in the development of the economy. A lot has to be improved in the ecological sphere. We have to have considerably greater respect and understanding for culture. But, it seems to me that the plenum settled what is a very important question at the present stage. It showed that the leadership of the republic and party bodies are prepared to change themselves in order to improve the situation. Only a few days remain until the elections. Very soon there will be a congress of the republican communist party. Literally in a few days, it seems, the report-backs and elections in primary party organizations will begin. And today, one can say quite definitely that very many new people will come into the leadership at all levels.

This is a completely natural and necessary process. New forces are needed among economic leaders, among workers in the soviets, and in party bodies. Renewal is needed everywhere. We need a new wave of people to come in, who ponder things, know life in the outlying areas, and have a modern way of thinking. It is very important for us to learn to listen to ordinary people. And not just to listen, but to carry out what they say. And what we need for that is a stable situation. We need there not to be any sort of ultimatums. We need for it to be possible to get right down to work.

[Interviewer] Good. Boris Karlovich, here is my second question: I will put it first in Tajik, then put it to you in Russian. Boris Karlovich, you have already given a partial answer to this question. You said that both before and after the plenum, you had a great many meetings, you participated in the work of two plenums, you attended a city aktiv, and had meetings with representatives of various categories of people, you visited enterprises, you have been on the city's streets. I would like to know your opinion of how the population, how the people, have received the plenum's decisions?

[Pugo] That is a serious question. Serious because the plenum participants themselves found it less than simple to come to their decisions. Various points of view were voiced at the plenum. People know of this from radio broadcasts. The upshot was that the plenum made its decision in a thoroughly considered and balanced fashion. This was done without any pressure whatsoever. The members of the Central Committee realized for themselves that by placing their confidence in the republican leadership, they were themselves shouldering a large share of the responsibility. I can judge the reaction to the plenum's decisions by the number of letters and telephone calls received at the party Central Committee. It seems to me that the absolute majority perceived the decisions as the correct ones. That is the way they perceived them. Today, confidence has been placed in the republic's leaders, in Comrade Kakhar Makhkamovich Makhkamov and other leaders, so that they can improve the situation. But, it was for good reason the plenum decisions also mentioned that the party's congress was looming. In other words, it does not mean the decisions have been made once and for all, for a long time to come. For the time being though, Communists have stated very firmly that the first secetary of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party and the other leaders must firmly pursue their line, and be assured of the support of Communists and other people. It seems to me that this is the main thing to be grasped. Although, there are other opinions. There are fewer of these today, however.

[Interviewer] Thank you. You know, Boris Karlovich, today in spite of the state of emergency in the republic, there has been a meeting in Dushanbe and I would like to know how you see the calls, say, or slogans there? Boris Karlovich, if you please.

[Pugo] First, the meeting itself. There is a state of emergency in the city at the moment and under it meetings and demonstrations should not be held in the city. However, in the awareness that there were calls on previous days to gather in the city, it was sanctioned and held. Maybe I am not using the word "sanctioned" quite correctly. It was accepted as a fait accompli. Yesterday, I had many conversations with representatives of the creative intelligentsia and clergy. Many of them had asked the people of the republic and residents of the different areas not to come to Dushanbe. But since they did come, it was held. What do I know about the meeting? I know that, for the most part, the people who gathered there are concerned by the problems that have increased.

We have already said today that there are indeed problems. But there were speeches at the meeting, at the meeting, which said that many things really do need to be improved and corrected. I know that there were slogans there supporting Comade Gorbachev. This is very good. But there were there, maybe not many, but nevertheless there were slogans with which it is doubtful that one could agree. I do not even want to name specific ones just now, because I consider that we should not at the moment accuse each other, but most importantly take actions and create a calm situation.

[Interviewer] Fine, thank you. We have the following question: Many of course are interested by this question, many nevertheless want to know who were the initiators of the disturbances in the city and what punishments have been carried out already.

[Pugo] This is probably the question which now worries everyone most of all. I can say today—here I have brought with me some information from the republic's procurator. This information says investigations are currently underway into more than 100 specific crimes which were committed during the mass disorder. Seventeen people have been arrested for looting, acts of hooliganism, and possession of drugs.

Seven people have been detained under suspicion of committing criminal acts. At present, a large group operational investigative groups, including workers of the procuracy, including the military procuracy, the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs and Committee of State Security. [sentence as heard] Today, it is clear that these young people who were mainly committing excesses did not choose this way themselves. We are sure that certain forces are behind them and the investigation will show this. Besides this, I consider it very important that a special commission of the republic's Supreme Soviet has also been set up. Yesterday, at a meeting with the creative intelligentsia I was told that they would like to see it more full, as they said, for there to be independent people there. I know that proposals have already arrived and that the Supreme Soviet Presidium has already added to this commission. It seems to me that, besides this, people's deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet from the republic could participate in the work of this commission. Briefly, I think that it would be very good for all people who have any information, data, any, perhaps even completely insignificant, data about the fact that...if they know something about the instigators of all these events, to report it to the procuracy without fail.

I do not think it would be right today to talk about specific acts of some kind or specific detainees since this would reveal secrets of the investigations. I would like to believe that the real perpetrators will be found.

[Interviewer] Thank you. Boris Karlovich, we have the following question to ask as well: A great many people are asking and are, no doubt, interested in what changes there will be at the forthcoming congress of the republic's Communist Party. You have already said that a congress of the Tajikistan Communist Party will be convened very soon so I'm not asking an (?irrelevant) question. Boris Karlovich, please.

[Pugo] Well, there you've asked a really difficult question that is very complicated to answer. We are talking today about the fact that the republics' party organizations should have far greater independence and that the sovereignty of the republics should have real and complete content. I would not, therefore, like to turn into a fortune-teller. I am convinced that the elections that are to be held soon will enable great changes to be made in the make-up of the Central Committee. There are people who are saying that the leaders are, they say, hanging onto their positions and I would like to assure radio and television listeners that this is not the case at all. And if they are still staying on and carrying out their instructions, it is only in order to stabilize the situation and to give the republic a chance to develop.

I would just like to express the wish to the republic's party organization that the report-back and election campaign will result in honorable people entering the leadership. People who want to work on behalf of their people and who will carry out their duty conscientiously.

[Interviewer] Thank you. And my last question, Boris Karlovich....

[Pugo] You have a very (?difficult) mission today, I would say: to interview and translate at the same time must be very difficult.

[Interviewer] Yes, but the current situation is probably difficult for us all. My last question: I would like to know how you think events will develop in the next few days, Boris Karlovich.

[Pugo] It is probably not possible to play the prophet in this. But, I would like to go along with the views of those many well-known spokesmen for the Tajik people and the creative intelligentsia who, along with spokesmen for the clergy and very many workers and peasants, have voiced their desire and opinion that a stabilization must come about. Before this broadcast we were discussing a certain matter. You did not ask me the question, but I know that it troubles everyone greatly. When will the troops be withdrawn? I can tell you with firm conviction that they are very much needed at the moment to ensure calm. They will be withdrawn as soon as the stabilization comes about. Each of the officers and soldiers who have come to Tajikistan to help has a family of his own and children of his own who are waiting for him and who do not want his life to be in danger. I would like to take advantage of our meeting to appeal to all the republic's working people on behalf of the leadership of our country: Keep calm; be patient; be realists. There will be no miracle. The situation will not improve overnight, but everything is in our hands. A very great deal will depend upon us. As we wind up this broadcast, I would like to be able to look into the eyes of Tajik people and not see sadness. I would like calm to come to reign at last. Thank you for your attention.

[Interviewer] Thank you, Boris Karlovich. [passage omitted]

15,000 Hold Unsanctioned Meeting

LD1802171390 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1502 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Report by spokesman Rustam Dadadzhanov of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Press Center]

[Text] Nearly 15,00 people took part in a meeting which was held this afternoon near the Barbad Palace in Dushanbe, in contravention of the state of emergency. Of course, according to the law it was possible to take negative measures, but the leadership of the republic and the city—taking into consideration the fact that such measures might further exacerbate the situation—welcomed the participants. Members of the Central Committee Bureau and of the Dushanbe city party committee came to the meeting, and technical means were provided for a conversation with those gathered there. It was important to know what changes had come about in the people's conscience following the party plenum's broadcast on republican radio. How was the morale of the meeting's participants?

This question was answered in a constructive conversation. Certain changes were noted in the people's morale. It is significant that the slogans and speeches did not appeal for national pessimism. Appeals were heard for friendship among peoples: Russians and Tajiks are brothers, and Mikhail Gorbachev helps restructuring youth. However, it is [word indistinct] still too remote. Slogans like "The Central Committee Bureau must resign" demonstrate this fact. On the eve of the meeting, as is known, the plenum [word indistinct] to the Central Committee Bureau. In the present complicated conditions, this was the only correct decision.

In the city, an unidentified person has spread the rumor that Gosplan Chairman Karimov has been imprisoned. Meanwhile, there are plenty of provocative rumors in the city. For this reason, they asked for the floor to be given to Karimov, which was done. The meeting showed that if all sides demonstrate goodwill, it is possible to find acceptable forms of talks. However, if meetings are prepared inefficiently from an organizational point of view, they may have undesirable and unexpected consequences. The meeting also showed that a portion of the participants were not very well aware of questions concerning the system for electing the leading officials of the republic and its party organization. In fact, there is a need to strengthen people's education and to raise their level of poltitical culture.

Reports on the meeting will be regularly published in the press. Thank you.

Tajik Leadership Appeals to People

LD1902233790

[Editorial Report] Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik at 1600 GMT on 19 February broadcasts an appeal by the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Tajikistan Council of Ministers. The appeal calls on all the people of Tajikistan, belonging to all nationalities, to use wisdom and farsightedness in all their actions and deeds. The appeal says in part:

"We assure you that all culprits of the tragic incidents of Dushanbe city will be exposed and punished for their deeds in accordance with the law." "The Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Tajikistan Council of Ministers resolutely believe in the wisdom, perseverance, and constructive power of all our dear people in solving these tasks and express the hope that such shameful incidents will never occur again. Today it is our human and conscientious duty to work with more strength and a higher sense of responsibility and discipline to remove as soon as possible all destruction of recent days and create favorable conditions for fruitful implementation of the tasks of restructuring and the solution to social, economic, and cultural problems in the republic."

Prosecutor Appeals to Victims, Witnesses

LD1702162890 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1529 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe calling: Esteemed listeners, the prosecutor's office of the city of Dushanbe earnestly requests all citizens who suffered as a result of the mass disorder and other crimes, and all witnesses of those events to make themselves known to the prosecutor's office of the city of Dushanbe at the following address: No. 36, Gorkiy Street, telephone numbers 23-19-04 and 22-31-37. I will repeat the telephone numbers: 23-19-04 and 22-31-37. Or apply to the internal affairs directorate of the Dushanbe city executive committee, telephone 02. Operational investigative groups inquiring into these crimes also are working in all rayon internal affairs departments.

City Transport Operating Fully

LD1902123490 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 0700 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Tajik First Deputy Health Minister Abdulzabbarov has said that all health service workers came to work on 19 February. In the capital, all 17 pharmacies on duty worked throughout the night.

The Ministry of Motor Transportation reported that today the public transport of the city is working in full capacity. Some 268 buses, 148 trolley buses, 173 minibuses, and 235 taxis came out to work. Intercity bus routes returned to normal.

Despite the fact that all workers have returned to work, (?newspapers) are reaching (?subscribers) very late. This was reported by the Ministry of Communications of the republic. The Ministry of Grain Products reported that there is sufficient bread in the shops in the capital. In some places products are left on the shelves. [words indistinct]

People Urged To Return to Work

LD1802184290 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1645 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Speech by Comrade Ikramov, chairman of the Dushanbe City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee—date, place not given; recorded]

[Begin Ikramov Recording] Greetings dear friends, esteemed fellow-citizens. Today public transport in the city of Dushanbe worked regularly. More than 300 buses and 110 trolleys, 135 minitaxis, [marshrutka] and 235 taxis were working on the streets. Residents of the city came out for their Sunday work and made efforts to beautify their city.

Unfortunately an unofficial meeting was held in the city. We will talk to you about the questions of the unofficial meeting in the future. But I would like to point out that a group of volunteers is working in the city. They are organized for the safety of their district and enterprise and their representatives demand an end to these unofficial meetings and not to give them permission to hold such meetings. They requested that such unofficial meetings should not be held in the city by the people who are involved in disorder.

Dear fellow-citizens, I ask you to show restraint, and believe me, peace is being restored in the city. As a result of our work on Saturdays and Sundays we will compensate for the loss which amounts to R20 million and will make efforts to beautify our dear capital. I call on you to work. Schools and kindergartens will be open. Go to work with enthusiasm. The city transport is at your service with full capacity and is working according to its schedule. [end recording]

Party Press Center on Situation

LD1802134690 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1041 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] The press center of Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee reports that yesterday, Saturday 17 February, many ministries and departments of the republic worked better, as compared with previous days. As before, special attention is being paid to the activity of enterprises and establishments of the city of Dushanbe.

During the past 24 hours, two people were released from hospitals. Establishments of the Ministry of Health are working regularly. Hospitals, polyclinics, and pharmacies are working. There are sufficient stocks of all kinds of necessary medicines. First-aid teams are provided with vehicles from internal stocks of the ministry. (Inkhamov), first deputy minister of health, informed us of this.

Deputy Minister (Aunukov) said that, today, 18 February, nearly 90 percent of the communication workers in the Ministry of Communications came to work. Work on telephone exchanges remains intensive. As before, there still are difficulties in the work of cable and sending telegraphs. The stream of requests for communication services grows larger. Due to the excessive work, communications with Kharom were disrupted for a time. It has been decided to accept the telegrams of military workers free of charge. Yesterday was the most profitable day of the week for the Khizmat concerns. Consumer services to the value of over 42,000 rubles were provided to the population, as reported by the Vice President (Nurmatov). This shows indirectly that peace and order for the people of Dushanbe is being restored.

As was reported to us by the Ministry of Motor Transport, 226 buses, 110 trolley cars, 277 taxis, and 118 minicabs went out on to the streets of the city today. Damaged equipment is being repaired.

The report by the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee press center for the esteemed (?listeners):

The telephones of the Republic's press center have not stopped ringing, even for a minute. People refer to this place with various requests. They ask for precise reports about the situation in the city and they declare their support for the decisions of the latest extraordinary party plenum, but certain phones calls are received by the press center which show that destabilization of the situation in Dushanbe is in the interests of certain unidentified persons.

Unidentified people are spreading provocative rumors in the city. In the Frunze district, a car drives around saying that self-defense groups are not necessary and must be dispersed. An elderly lady reported to the press center that another lady with an anxious voice asked if it was a fact that a group of Mujahidin had crossed the southern border and were coming to Dushanbe. A phone call from Ordzhonikidzeabad says that unidentified people are going house-to-house, asking residents to join in a meeting. All these facts show that provocateurs are working in and around the city. Actions against public order and citizens' safety must be stopped according the law. Precisely in the conditions of the state of emergency, the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium must issue a decree like the one that was has begaun to operate in the republic of Uzbekistan. IZVESTIYA reported this on 17 February.

Tajik Press Center Views Situation

LD1902184190 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1700 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The press center of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee reports:

In accordance with (?latest) information released by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan, the situation in Dushanbe is gradually returning to normal. During the past 24 hours, no crime and violations of order were committed in the social context. There was less crime committed compared to the same day for the year 1989. Crimes during public disorders committed by nine people were exposed. Five of them were arrested. 79 persons were detained for violating curfew hours. [word indistinct] posts searched 3,872 vehicles. [words indistinct] Since the beginning of events, organs of Internal Affairs confiscated 457 firearms and 12 incendiary devices from the inhabitants.

Party News Conference Reviews Situation

LD1702150590 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 17 February, Tajik-TASS. A news conference for representatives of the mass media took place at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee today. Journalists from republican and central newspapers, radio, and television, APN, Tajik-TASS, and a number of magazines were invited to it. Shoda Davlyatovich Shabdolov, head of the press center at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, acquainted the assembly with the political situation in the city of Dushanbe which has developed since the familiar tragic events of 12 and 13 February. He stressed that the situation in the city is being controlled by public order forces and subunits of the internal troops and the Soviet Army. No cases of pogroms or attempts on the lives of citizens have been recorded in the past 24 hours. At the same time, 61 people have been detained for violations of the of emergency. A car in which 20 kg of opium were found has been seized by the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate. An investigation is being conducted into this incident.

A range of questions concerning the results of the work of the extraordinary 17th Tajik Communist Party Central Committee Plenum and progress in the investigation into the true causes of the disturbances which arose and led to human casualties and great material losses were raised at the news conference.

Serious compliants were expressed against some of the mass media for coverage of the events which was not always objective and for hasty and hurried assessments of individual incidents. A serious reproach was directed at several television reports shown on the "Vremya" program.

The following participated in the news conference: Comrade (Fedin), head of sector at the interethnic relations department of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade (Dolguhskin), a senior official in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee; and Comrade Ashurov, chief of the Ideology Department at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee.

Party Official Updates Situation

LD1902112690 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tajik 1000 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee press center reports:

A press conference was held today in the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee building. It was opened by Vladimir Rozanov, deputy head of the ideology department of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee. Shodi Shabdolov, secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee then answered journalists' questions about yesterday's meeting. He also pointed out how the urgent question of the day—the election of people's deputies—should be carried out. Answering more questions, Shodi Shabdolov said that the situation is coming back to normal, and expressed his belief that with the help of workers of various branches of the national economy, this important task is being fulfilled with desirble results.

People's self-defense units are working in the central rayon of the city of Dushanbe. They are made up of representatives of various nationalities—and are led by the rayon headquarters of the internationalist movement [interdvizhiniya]. The activities of the self-defense groups are not limited to protection of residential houses. For example, yesterday, local residents joined them for the Sunday work, and contributed to the renovation of the city. Work at trade centers is returning to normal. In microrayons 61, 63, 64 and 65, meetings were held with propagandist aktivs. The majority of the rayon residents are displaying patience and tolerance in this complicated situation. However, questions concerning wages for the days people have not worked [as heard], and of maintaining their safety at work are creating anxiety. These questions will be examined in the operational headquarters of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

Moscow Newspapers Update Tajikistan Events

Dushanbe Reported 'Recovering From Shock'

PM1602170190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Aleksandr Karpov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "City Recovering From Shock"]

[Text] Dushanbe—February 15 was the first day this week that the inhabitants of Dushanbe spent in an atmosphere of comparative calm. Three days of mourning have begun for the victims of extremism. At the city cemetery there have been funerals attended by many people. The work of industrial enterprises and institutions is returning to normal. As before, the only part of the city cordoned off by special-purpose troops is the center, where government establishments and the republic Communist Party Central Committee building are located. Regular deliveries of produce are reaching the stores, and post offices are working again.

Little by little, the population of the Tajik capital is recovering from the shock of the past few days. Citizens' self-defense detachments and staffs have been created everywhere. Round-the-clock duty has been organized in every district and apartment block. Barricades have been erected in roadways. Citizens' formations are monitoring the situation and quickly preventing any conflicts, even minor ones, from developing. However, it is too soon to talk about the complete stabilization of the situation. For 24 hours rayon soviet executive committees, enterprises, and self-defense staffs have been receiving continual provocative telephone calls threatening rallies and antigovernment actions and reporting alleged accidents and acts of sabotage.

Correspondents of the central and republic mass media currently working in Dushanbe have found themselves in a very complex situation. Highly conflicting information has been reaching the official government and party organs.

On the city's central square yesterday, there was an unauthorized mass rally whose participants once again demanded the resignation of the republic's present leadership. The participants' demands are at variance with the opinion of those at a meeting of the Dushanbe party-economic aktiv. The latter expressed sincere condolences to the family, relatives, and friends of the innocent victims of the disorders instigated by criminal elements in Dushanbe 12, 13, and 14 February. The meeting regarded the signing by K. Makhkamov, G. Pallayev, and I. Khayeyev of a protocol of resignation as contrary to the decision of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee extraordinary plenum. Such measures do not reflect the feelings of CPSU members or the vast mass of Dushanbe residents in this complex and dramatic period, the meeting stressed. There was condemnation of the action of the hooligan elements who have been hiding behind the Tajik people's good name but who are in fact discrediting their centuries-old moral and ethical foundations. It isn't communists, internal affairs organ officials, or soldiers who are committing violence. Social problems can and must be solved by labor, not by robbery and murder. It is distressing that criminal elements have skillfully exploited the credulity of a certain section of young people.

The participants in the meeting appealed to young people to consider each step before embarking on a particular course of action.

An extraordinary plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee began on the evening of 15 February: Items on the agenda were the question of the powers of Tajik Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Makhkamov and measures to stabilize the situation.

'Rumors' of New Tajik Cabinet Denied

PM1902195590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Aleksandr Karpov report: "Situation Returning to Normal"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The people of Dushanbe had been waiting anxiously for Sunday 18 February. Shaken by the events of the past week, people were under a strain.

The three-day period of mourning announced by the government of Tajikistan had ended the day before. They were days of sorrow for the dead and days of respite—the pogroms and mass excesses in the streets had ceased. At Saturday's news conference Sh. Shabdolov, secretary of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, informed journalists of sad statistics: There had been 20 deaths, 74 people had received gunshot wounds, and 590 casualties had been hospitalized. Hooligans had looted consumer goods worth

3,365,000 rubles [R], and the total damage inflicted on the national economy was estimated at more than R25 million. Representatives of the mass media showed special interest in the results of the work of the extraordinary Tajik Communist Party Central Committee plenum and, in particular, in the question discussed there of the attempt made by individual officials to illegally form a new government cabinet. The interest had been fanned by the widespread rumor that persons, whose names had been mentioned at the plenum in this connection, had been arrested. The Central Committee secretary denied the rumors, emphasizing that a specially created commission is now investigating the incident.

On Sunday, despite the current state of emergency, thousands-strong unsanctioned rallies spontaneously arose in the center of the city. People who had gathered near the Tajikistan Hotel tried to break through the cordons of internal troop soldiers and militia patrols toward the square in front of the party Central Committee building. Attempts were made to persuade them to head for the stadium, where everything had been prepared for a rally. No one heeded those requests. The debate lasted three hours. And only when the head of Tajikistan's Muslims approached the gathering and asked the people to go to the movie and concert hall, in the square beside which a rally was already taking place, did everyone make for the hall in the square.

Despite the intensity of passions, the rally passed off without violations of public order and showed that mutually acceptable forms of dialogue can be found.

Appearing on local television in the evening, B. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, emphasized that the people who had gathered for the rally were concerned about the problems which have accumulated, and this is precisely why it was permitted. It is very important that we should learn to listen to the people, and not simply listen but carry out what they say. However, what is necessary for this is a stable situation, without ultimatums or threats.

Tajik Deputy Premier To Be Investigated

PM1902134190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Dispatch by Aleksandr Karpov under general heading "Direct Line; IZVESTIYA Own Correspondents at the Teleprinter": "Plenum Has Created Commission"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The commission will ascertain how the draft decree on the appointment of B. Karimov as chairman of the Tajikistan Council of Ministers was prepared.

As has already been reported, an extraordinary Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was working in Dushanbe 15-16 February. Those taking part reaffirmed the powers of K. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Central Committee, and expressed trust in Bureau members G. Pallayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I. Khayeyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers. That was the main result of the two-day session. But a no less notable event at the plenum for all those taking part took place absolutely unexpectedly. In his speech, I. Khayeyev, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, stated that he has information according to which B. Karimov, the present chairman of the republic's state planning committee, tried to prepare a draft Supreme Soviet Presidium decree on his own appointment to the post of chairman of the Tajikistan Council of Ministers.

The political events which have been taking place over the past weeks in the republic's capital have made Buri Karimov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] a very notable figure. He is not yet 35 years old. He is a highway engineer by education and a candidate of technical sciences. In the past three years he has made a brilliant career: chief of a rayon mobile mechanized column, minister of highways construction, and chairman of the republic's state planning committee. Until the past few days, his name had never been mentioned among people with anything to do with the informal sociopolitical organizations existing in the republic. Nonetheless when, a few days ago, the provisional people's committee was formed at a most dramatic moment, he was elected chairman.

The plenum gave the names of several other party and soviet workers who were allegedly involved in the story of the preparation of the draft illegal decree. Inasmuch as they have denied, in their speeches, that they have taken part in illegal activity, it has been decided to pass on this question for examination by a specially created commission.

In the past 24 hours there has been no violation of public order in Dushanbe. All city services worked normally. The situation is under control.

Stages of Tajik Unrest Summarized

PM1602225590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 First Edition p 3

[Special Correspondent N. Sautin report: "When There Is Trouble In The Home"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The tense atmosphere in the Tajik capital persists. Troops, notably subunits of the Turkestan Military District, are continuing to arrive. A curfew is in force. The city center has been cordoned off by combat vehicles. The republic party Central Committee building is ringed by internal troops. "Spetsnaz" submachine gunners are still inside the actual building, part of which was wrecked in the recent attack.

Even so, the city is gradually beginning to recover from the upheavals. Of course, hardly anyone will venture to predict how events are going to develop at the moment because the situation changes unexpectedly and not only on the streets and squares but also within the republic's party organization itself, in its core, so to speak.

Let us recall the chronicle of the Dushanbe drama, which began 11 February. A rumor circulated in the city at that time: Up to 5,000 Armenians are coming. A patent lie! In fact 47 people did come to the republic from the Transcaucasus: They were Russians, Azerbaijanis, and Armenians intending to live with relatives. However, the rumor worked: The next day a crowd numbering many thousands filled the square in front of the Central Committee. The refugees, housing, and what to do in such circumstances were quickly forgotten: The crowd demanded the resignation of the republic's leaders. It is only a short distance from that to pogroms....

Traces of the pogrom still scar the streets adjoining the center. Theaters were set on fire then and stores were looted.... Around 100 youths brutally attacked the militia and burst into the Central Committee building. It was only the special crowd control gas used by the internal troops subunit which forced them out of the building and the military subunit which had been summoned then expelled the extremists from the square.

A state of emergency was introduced in Dushanbe but on 13 February the outrages, including arson and violence, continued. There were more casualties. Even when hooligans who had been arrested were released on the demand of groups of rampaging youths, this did not defuse the situation. The troops were forced back to the Central Committee building and then into the courtyard. The republic's leadership went on television and radio to appeal to the population to protect the capital. The crowd withdrew from the Central Committee building but the pogroms intensified in other parts of the city.

The mass disorders, it is believed here, did not happen by chance but were a well thought out and preplanned action.

As PRAVDA has already reported, on the morning of 14 February there was an extraordinary plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. Although the republic's leaders were sharply criticized for being slow to take measures to prevent the unauthorized rallies and the pogroms in the capital, the plenum expressed confidence in Central Committee First Secretary K. Makhkamov and the whole Central Committee Bureau.

But a 30,000-strong crowd had taken to the square and the adjoining streets again. At the same time skirmishes, fighting, clashes, and arson attacks began in various parts of the city. The participants in the rally elected a people's committee under the chairmanship of B. Karimov, chairman of the republic's State Planning Committee. They authorized the committee to hold talks which included among other things the demand for the Tajik leadership's resignation. Only on that condition would the rally participants agree to normalize the situation in Dushanbe. The talks lasted six hours. Central Committee First Secretary K. Makhkamov as well as bureau members G. Pallayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I. Khayeyev, chairman of the Council of Ministers, resigned. They announced this on local television.

At 0200 hours on 15 February a meeting of the party-economic aktiv adopted a resolution on the results of the joint session of the republic's leadership and the people's committee elected by the participants in the rally 14 February 1990. The resolution expressed profound sorrow for the innocent victims of the disorders instigated by criminal elements. February 15, 16, and 17 were declared days of mourning.

It is not communists, internal affairs organ workers, or soldiers who, night and day, have been causing pogroms and committing violence against totally innocent people, the resolution said. Yes, there are social problems but they can and must be resolved by labor, not by robbery, violence, and murder....

Representatives of all sections of the population and social formations have been included in the commission set up by the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium to investigate the deaths that have occurred.

At the same time, the participants in the meeting considered that the resignation statement by K. Makhkamov, G. Pallayev, and I. Khayeyev was contrary to the decisions of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee extraordinary plenum. "We consider," the resolution says, "that this step, which was taken at a grave moment for the Tajik people's destiny, does not reflect the feeling of party members and the vast mass of Dushanbe's inhabitants...."

On 15 February the situation in the city normalized. On the same day, after K. Makhkamov's resignation had been discussed for many hours at the Central Committee Bureau, the final decision on the question was left to an extraordinary plenum of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee. B. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, addressed the plenum and recalled the previous extraordinary plenum had expressed confidence in the Central Committee bureau and the first secretary. But their efforts had not led to the ending of the disorders. There may be further bloodshed. No post or power is worth a human life. The Central Committee first secretary's resignation was prompted by a sincere desire to end the suffering of totally innocent people. But the final say, of course, belongs to the participants in the plenum....

Their opinions divided. Some Central Committee members favored dialogue with the informal associations and upheld K. Makhkamov's resignation in the belief that any compromise is acceptable so long as it helps the republic out of the crisis. The majority, however, on behalf of their party organizations, resolutely opposed the first secretary's concessions to those people who are trying to grab power by blackmail and threats. Eventually the plenum did not accept the resignation and expressed complete confidence in the Central Committee First Secretary.

...In the morning I went out with the militia patrol. During the night the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs had received about 100 warnings of pogroms and robberies. I will say right away that almost all of them were hoaxes. Some people are determinedly trying to keep the law and order agencies at full stretch. But each alarm call has to be checked out.

...The Tajik capital still resembles a frontline city. Helicopters are patrolling overhead. But the people have grown weary of the unrest and fear.

Tajik Secretary Denies 'Muslim' Rumors

PM1802205190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 Second Edition p 3

[Special Correspondent N. Sautin dispatch under the "Extraordinary Situation" rubric: "It Is Dialogue, Not Force, That Decides

[Text] Dushanbe, 17 Feb—The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee extraordinary plenum, which PRAVDA described yesterday, examined questions of the political situation in the republic and adopted a decision not to rely on the soldiers and officers brought into Dushanbe but to act by political methods—persuasion, explanation, and the elaboration of a program which would enable the republic to emerge from its economic and social difficulties.

Sh. Shabdolov, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, said in conversation with your PRAVDA correspondent that the origin of the bloody conflict lies in the unresolved problems which for a number of years now have been acute for Tajikistan. Some 117,000 young men and women have only seasonal employment. Around 70,000 people in the capital itself have no work at all. The housing crisis must also be acknowledged.

As of today, the disorders of the past week alone have caused losses of around R20 million. Goods worth R5.5 million have been stolen. Seventy four people have received gunshot wounds and 190 were injured in clashes and have been hospitalized.

"A real force has appeared here now," the Central Committee secretary said, "capable of opposing the unrestrained extremists. That is not just the army but working people's self-defense detachments. They appeared spontaneously in residential districts in the city. One such detachment is headed by USSR People's Deputy R. Adzhiyev. There are 160 former internationalist servicemen now under his command. Together with militia and army patrols they are ensuring the security of residential and industrial premises in the capital's Frunzenskiy Rayon. There are now hundreds of similar formations consisting of employees and workers."

[Sautin] "Is it true that the people's committee, which directs the unauthorized rallies, has proclaimed itself a new Islamic party?"

[Shabdolov] "These are rumors which are being spread for deliberately provocative purposes. The people's committee has publicly repudiated the purely Muslim tendency which is being prescribed for it."

[Sautin] "The ralliers elected B. Karimov, chairman of the republic's State Planning Committee, as leader. He was not only sharply criticized at the plenum but also called an enemy of Soviet power. What has happened to him?"

[Shabdolov] "Are you thinking of the rumors of B. Karimov's arrest? This is another lie. The truth is quite different. Communists' accusation against Karimov was that he had resolved many cadre questions dishonestly. It was also from careerist motives that he agreed to head the people's committee and encouraged Central Committee members to join it. He himself denies that. A party commission is now studying this matter. It will clarify everything. As for the informal organizations which are bringing people out onto the square, it would be a mistake to regard their members as fighters against the Soviet system. There are quite a few representatives of our intelligentsia among the informals. But their chosen method for resolving what is, to be plain, a noble task—namely, to sharply raise the quality of life—should be condemned. Many days of rallies will not produce more bread, meat, or apartments. Many sober-minded people among the street orators are now recognizing that we do not want to cause an aggravation of the conflict. The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee will continue dialogue with all sides without exception."

[Sautin] "The atmosphere is now calmer on the streets of Dushanbe. There are combat vehicles stationed in the courtyards of apartment blocks...."

[Shabdolov] "The situation is abnormal. Any eruption of emotions could again lead to a consolidation of all the sinister forces, including criminals and drug addicts.... Today I answered dozens of questions from working people. They included this one: 'It is true that an Afghan Mujahidin division is ready to come to the aid of the people's front? Is it true that all Russians must leave Tajikistan at 1200 hours tomorrow?' Such rumors create uncertainty and panic. Now all the plenum participants have gone to their party organizations to give them a true report on the real situation in the republic."

Now, the latest report from the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Kh. Uktamadzhan, aged 26, has been hospitalized with a gunshot wound. F. Azizbekov, aged 23, has died of a bullet wound. The State Motor Vehicle Inspection Administration checked a Volga car belonging to a citizen by the name of Nurov and discovered 20 kg of hashish. Four people who part in disorders have been arrested, including those who robbed a jewelery store. The population has surrendered 327 weapons to the militia and 61 people have been detained for curfew violation.

Some 3,000 people attended a rally in Ordzhonikidzeabadskiy Rayon near to Dushanbe. It criticized the supply of food, housing, and work to working people. The most popular slogan was "Cut the prices for commission-sale meat." In Komsomolabad settlement a crowd of 300 people demanded the withdrawal of the troops from Dushanbe.

Senior Officer Interviewed

PM1902143590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Feb 90 Second Edition p 6

[Telephone interview with Lieutenant General G. Kondratyev, first deputy commander of the Turkestan Military District, by special correspondent N. Belan: "Situation Under Control"]

[Text] Dushanbe, 16 Feb—"The situation in the city has stabilized noticeably. It cannot be said, of course, that we are fully in control of the situation but the excesses which went on 12-13 February have stopped."

That was how Lt. Gen. G. Kondratyev, first deputy commander of the Turkestan Military District, began this interview for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. He is head of the operations group in Dushanbe directing the actions of the Soviet Army troops who have been called in to help maintain law and order here.

"But what is the reaction to the introduction of the troops?" I asked him.

"The only ambiguous reaction has come from those who stand to gain from tension, disorders, and pogroms. The ordinary people, however—and we have met and talked frankly with people of various nationalities in many parts of Dushanbe—say thank you to the troops for coming and protecting them and preventing the outrages and bloodshed from spreading."

"When I was flying here I read in a central newspaper that the army in Dushanbe is protecting only government buildings and military installations and camps."

"That information does not correspond to the truth, to put it mildly. The airport, bakeries, water supplies, oil depots, certain enterprises, and other installations of vital importance for the city have been taken under the protection of the army and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] troops and roads into the city have been cordoned off against hooligans and pogromists. Even so, rumors are circulating that the army is protecting only the government and itself. This is not harmless talk. It conceals an attempt to discredit people in uniform. Furthermore, the army is helping the population a lot. For example, there was a rumor circulating around the city that the bread combines had stopped work. Enormous waiting lines formed outside the bakers' stores on Thursday. People took five to 10 loaves at a time. I contacted the city authorities. They told me that the panic had been provoked. Whereas normally 70 tonnes of bread was baked, today's output was twice that amount. But there is a shortage of transport to deliver it. Army subunits immediately responded and sent their bread trucks and people to help. There are many examples of that kind."

"I know that self-defense detachments have been created in the city. Are you in contact with them?"

"Yes, such detachments exist in various rayons and city districts. They were created by residents during the pogroms to protect their families. War veterans and former servicemen who served in Afghanistan have taken and are taking the most active part in their formation and work. These detachments are not divided on ethnic grounds, they are international. We regard them with understanding and we are now working to create a single system of control and to ensure operational communication. I believe that this kind of people's initiative ought to be welcomed and supported. You will understand that without the participation of the broadest masses and all honest inhabitants of the city it will be far harder for the MVD and army to establish and maintain law and order. Although in Dushanbe today there are enough forces to quickly quell any disorders. But I would like to believe that they will not occur again. All questions can and must be resolved by dialogue and political methods. That is our position."

Pugo Interviewed on Tajik Problems

PM1902151990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 First Edition p 6

[Interview with B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, by Colonel A. Ladin: "Tajikistan: 'I Believe That the Difficulties Will Be Overcome'"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Dushanbe, 15 Feb—"I believe that the difficulties will be overcome"—those hopeful words were spoken in the interview that B.K. Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, gave to your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent.

[Ladin] Boris Karlovich, in your view, has there been a breakthrough in the events in Dushanbe in the past few days?

[Pugo] I believe that there has. Although it cannot be said yet that the situation has eased.

There are many things to clarify. For example, what caused the disorders which occurred? This must be thoroughly investigated. Today the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium adopted a decision on the creation of a special deputies' commission to investigate why people died. The commission includes deputies representing various categories of citizens. The Presidium's view was that the commission's composition was such that people would find it credible. And that the eventual results of its work would prevent conjecture and distrust. I anticipate that there will be discussions and different viewpoints during the investigation. That is understandable. The situations that occurred as events deteriorated were not clear cut. For example, there were quite a lot of bullet wounds. But it isn't yet known who fired the shots and from where.

[Ladin] Yesterday I met with workers from many Dushanbe labor collectives and talked with people from the city who have joined the self-defence detachments, and they all asked: Why are the republic's leaders actively talking with those who are staging rallies in front of the republic Communist Party Central Committee building, considering them alone to be representatives of the people, instead of going to enterprises in the capital and to the people who have assumed responsibility for protecting residential districts from the hooligans and pogromists? Is that view fair? After all, the extremist forces managed to achieve their aim whereas the other section of society, its most healthy forces, were isolated and forced to defend themselves against the pogromists.

[Pugo] I think that the organizers of the disorders were bent on bloodshed. If they succeeded that would provoke the law and order agencies to use weapons, if they didn't succeed they would try to achieve their aim by "random" shooting.

For several days the Central Committee itself was essentially under very tight siege. The crowds at the rallies numbered 10,000, 15,000, 20,000. I know that the republic's leaders sought possible forms of dialogue with the representatives of the people who were in front of the Central Committee building. Many of the participants in the rallies were actually in the Central Committee first secretary's office.

At the 14 February plenum full and unconditional support was expressed for the republic's leadership but there was also sharp criticism. Specifically it was that Central Committee Bureau members rarely meet with working people at enterprises or with young people. The criticism was probably fair.

Now that the tension has subsided somewhat, the republic's leaders have gone out to enterprises and are holding meetings in labor collectives, residential districts, and in surrounding villages. Last night and this morning Tajik party and government leaders went on television and radio to explain the situation and their position.

[Ladin] Boris Karlovich, after Comrade Makhkamov had reported that in reply to the rally participants' demands and in order to prevent further bloodshed he himself, G. Pallayev, chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, and I. Khayeyev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, were announcing their resignations, there was a visible attempt by certain people to seize the initiative on television. People became particularly keenly aware of this when a certain Mirbobo Mirrakhim from the rally committee corrected you personally, saying that it wasn't the leaders themselves who were resigning and that this was to the ralliers' credit. Of course, to his own personal credit. After that conversation committee members literally celebrated their victory before the viewers' eyes. What does all this mean? How can it be that almost all the television broadcasts are biased, justify the extremists' actions, and contain sharp criticism of the law enforcement agencies and the army without considering who brought the situation to these tragic consequences?

[Pugo] Everyone now understands that you have to talk with all forces. People have different positions, a different platform, they have their own views, but they want to help stabilize the situation during these difficult days. And it is necessary to talk with everyone. No matter how difficult and perhaps not always pleasant these discussions are, they must not be avoided. It is necessary to persuade, to work for mutual understanding, to do everything possible to remove the grounds for conflict where the seeds of distrust could be sown. This morning there was another TV broadcast . Comrades Makhkamov, Pallayev, and Khayeyev took part. I spoke, too. I think that quite clear replies were given to the questions which interest the population.

[Ladin] TRUD, in its latest reportage, focused attention on the army. Some of its assessments are bound to offend the military, who, I think, have made a substantial contribution both to stabilizing the situation and to the work of protecting major installations essential for ensuring normal life in the city. What is your assessment of the activity of Internal Affairs Ministry [MVD] internal troops, the militia, and the Soviet Army in this extraordinary situation in the Tajik capital?

[Pugo] In the past few days I have spoken personally with military servicemen of the Soviet Army, MVD internal troops, and the militia. They have come from different regions to help the local law and order forces. And I think that they are fulfilling their duty in very difficult conditions not only conscientiously but also very willingly. Their difficult work, which does not always receive people's sympathy, is extremely necessary and finds understanding among the majority of the population.

One military serviceman, a major, asked me in the street to meet with a woman, a mother of five, who lives in Dushanbe. She wanted to describe how the ordinary people of Dushanbe see events. This woman spoke very warmly of the servicemen. She said that the soldiers' presence inspired the city's people with confidence. That the army had saved people from considerably greater violence. It had prevented brutal bloodshed. It was pleasing for me to hear military servicemen, too, saying that soldiers have been receiving the population's support everywhere, even in the most remote districts. Inhabitants have been offering soldiers tea and cakes—

whatever they can. There is no confrontation between the population and the military servicemen.

There is another point. Many self-defense detachments have been formed in districts of Dushanbe in the past 24 hours. That is people's response to the appeal of the latest republic Communist Party Central Committee plenum to help the law enforcement agencies.

During the night I went around the city. There were people wearing armbands at literally every apartment block. In these difficult conditions the militia have received good assistance. After all, there have been many hoax calls designed for a particular purpose—to scatter the militia forces around the city.

At one time I worked on questions relating to Tajikistan. I have been here a number of times and it is my opinion that the Tajiks are a people with fine traditions and an ancient culture. The Tajiks are very responsive people in character. There are people of various nationalities living alongside them. The republic has always been characterized by an inherent desire to create the atmosphere of a common friendly home, where neighbor helps neighbor and shares his sorrows and joys. There is trouble in this home today, it has problems. But I believe that peace and harmony will soon reign here again. The mistakes and difficulties will be overcome together.

[Ladin] Thank you.

Moscow Radio Continues Updates of Events

Rallies Outside Dushanbe Reported

LD1702214190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The situation in Dushanbe is gradually returning to normal. Yesterday, an extraordinary joint plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the city party organization ended work. A recording of speeches made by its participants was broadcast on the radio. Today the broadcast was repeated. According to Ministry of Internal Affairs reports, on-duty units of the internal affairs bodies are receiving numerous calls about offenses, shooting, and pogroms, which on the whole are not confirmed on checking.

There is an uneasy atmosphere in the areas adjoining Dushanbe. Unsanctioned rallies were held in Ordzhonikidzeabad and the village of Komsomolabad. [passage omitted]

This was a report by TASS special correspondents from Dushanbe.

15,000 Attend Dushanbe Meeting

LD1902173590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in Dushanbe is gradually returning to normal. No crimes or violations of the law against the interethnic backdrop have been registered over the past 24 hours. The number of common crimes was lower, both in the republic and its capital. A further nine people, of whom five have been arrested, have been identified as having committed crimes during the mass disturbances. Seventy nine people have been detained for curfew violations. Since the events began, 457 firearms, some 16,000 rounds of ammunition, and 12 bottles containing incendiary mixture have been voluntarily given up by the population and confiscated by the internal affairs bodies.

A meeting, in which approximately 15,000 people took part, began at 1400 near the cinema and concert hall in the capital. Those who assembled unfurled several dozen slogans and streamers in the Tajik and Russian languages, proclaiming "Long live friendship among peoples!"; "We are friends of the Russian people," "Russians, join us in the struggle for solving social problems," "We are for justice," "We are for Gorbachev," "Yes to the party and perestroyka," "No to the present leadership," "Who gave the right to fire on unarmed people?" and others. The resolution that has been adopted by the meeting's participants contains a demand that the republican leadership should resign, that the curfew should be lifted, that the troops should be withdrawn, that those guilty of people having lost their lives should be punished and that Ulitsa Kutovskogo ought to be renamed Ulitsa Pogibshikh [Street of the Fallen].

On the same day, in the town of Kurgan-Tyube, approximately 1,500 citizens assembled by the building of the party oblast committee at 1000. They demanded that living conditions should be improved, that the social and economic development of the oblast should be speeded up, and that the government and individual leaders of the republic should resign. Those in charge of the oblast's party and soviet bodies made speeches. After three hours the meeting ended and those assembled dispersed peacefully.

In the evening, Boris Karlovich Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, spoke on Tajik television. He described the political situation in the republic and replied to other questions.

67 Curfew Breakers Detained

LD2002114690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in Dushanbe is returning to normal. Life in the city is entering its usual rythmn. Over the past 24 hours public transport and enterprises have been working, lessons have been taught in institutes of education, and kindergartens and creches have opened.

No offences on interethnic grounds have been registered. Sixty seven people have been detained for breaking the curfew. These figures were received by our editorial office from the USSR Interior Ministry press center.

Interior Ministry Data on Dushanbe

LD1802102190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Of course we have been waiting for a report from Tajikistan, and we have just been given the following information from the temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: [passage omitted]

Intertown buses are running. But students of the higher and secondary educational establishments have not started their studies, and many schools are closed. In the towns of Kurgan-Tyube, Kulyab and in the settlement of (Doshara) in Kulyab Oblast, the meetings of population and the leaders of party and soviet bodies, who explained the main results of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee extraordinary plenum, took place.

A news conference held by Shabdolov, Central Committee secretary, in which officials from the Central Committee and republic took part, was held at the press center of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee. Central and local mass media correspondents obtained answers to their questions. Major General of the Interior Troops (Navzhuvanov), the commandant of Dushanbe; and Colonel (Mamadzhanov), his deputy, appealed to people on Tajik television about the necessity to observe the demands of the state of emergency and the curfew.

The work to expose the leaders and active participants in the recent events continues. A toal of 20 criminal cases were instituted against them, including one for organization and participation in mass disorders, 13 for premeditated murders, three for robbery and the rest for other kinds of offences.

A total of 86 people and 63 vehicles without registration plates were detained for violations of the curfew. In the past 24 hours 93 smoothbore shotguns were surrended by the population to the interior bodies. No pogroms and serious crime on interethnic grounds have been registered. That is the news from the temporary press centre of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry in Tajikistan.

Situation 'Stabilized,' 'Still Tense'

LD1602130190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] The USSR Interior Ministry Press Center reports: The situation in Dushanbe has stabilized to some extent in the last 24 hours, as a result of comprehensive measures to strengthen law and order. However, it is still tense. According to more precise data, 20 people died from firearm and other injuries from 12 to 15 February; 568 people sought medical aid; 54 members of staff of internal affairs bodies, 55 servicemen from the USSR Interior Ministry's internal troops, and one serviceman from the Soviet Army sustained physical injuries in preventing illegal actions.

There have been no serious crimes or deaths in the last 24 hours. Urban passenger transportation, the majority of stores, and more than half of the city's industrial enterprises and organizations did not function for part of the day. Students and schoolchildren did not attend their classes.

An unsanctioned rally organized by representatives of unofficial associations was held outside the building of the republic's Council of Ministers. More than 3,000 people participated in it. Those attending the rally held placards and banners reading: Russians and Tajiks are brothers; peace, democracy, fraternity. The speakers called for an end to the disorder and for the resignation of the republic's leadership. The rally ended at around 1400.

Self-Defense Units Operating in Area

LD1602180190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Telephoned report from Tajikistan correspondent Madzhidov—recorded]

[Text] Over the past 24 hours, as a result of complex measures taken to strengthen law and order, the situation in the city of Dushanbe has been somewhat stabilized. However, as before, it has remained tense. Forty-two people have been detained for breaking the curfew orders, of whom 29 have been warned and released. These data were presented to me at the Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to amplified data, it has been ascertained that during the period from the 12-15 February 20 people died of gunshot and other wounds. Fifty-four workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, 55 servicemen of the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and 5 servicemen of the Soviet Army were wounded while breaking up illegal actions. Those who died as a result of serious crimes, pogroms, and interethnic infringements of the law during the past 24 hours have not been registered.

At the same time, individual conflicts between self-defense detachments and groups of extremists have taken place. There are more than 50 self-defense detachments in Dushanbe at present.

City passenger transport, the majority of shops, and many industrial enterprises and city organizations have been partially idle during the day. Students and schoolchildren are not attending lessons. Recently, provocative rumors have been spreading among the population on pogroms and beating of certain elements of the population. Numerous reports of excesses and fights, some of which could not be confirmed, have been arriving at the

Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. Anonymous threatening telephone calls with ultimatum-style demands to stop work have been received by leaders of enterprises and institutions.

At about 1000 some 1,000 people held a rally in front of Tajikistan Communist Party headquarters. At 1100 these people proceeded to Lenin Square where, at the headquarters of the Council of Ministers, over 3,000 people participated in an unsanctioned meeting. Speakers called for an end to the disorders and the acceleration of the change of government. A representative of the clergy condemned extremist excesses and called for calm and friendship.

Late last night an extraordinary plenum of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee opened, which continued work today.

Situation Normalizing

LD1802072190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] We have been waiting for a report from Tajikistan and have just heard this from the temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs:

In the past 24 hours, the situation in Dushanbe has continued to normalize. No pogroms or serious crimes on interethnic grounds have been registered. Most industrial, trade, and consumer service enterprises were working. Urban passenger transportation was out in the streets in full. However, students have still not started their studies, and many schools are closed.

In Kurgan-Tyube, Kulyab, and other towns, party and Soviet leaders are explaining the decisions of the extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

The commandant of Dushanbe and his deputy have appealed to the people on Tajik television. They reminded them of the need to observe the demands of the state of emergency and the curfew.

I remind you that this report has come to us from the temporary press center of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Tajikistan.

Workers To Get Back Pay

LD1902151990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The restoration of order is continuing in Dushanbe and the city is taking up its normal labor routine, according to responsible workers of Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee at a news conference at the Central Committee.

Workers and personnel of enterprises and organizations will be paid their salaries for enforced absenteeism. It has been decided to open a special account at a bank to collect funds for the repair of installations which have been destroyed by extremists. At a number of enterprises such funds have already been collected.

According to an operational summary by the republic's ministry of internal affairs, about 1,500 people gathered yesterday at the party oblast committee building in Kurgan-Tyube. The people were demanding an improvement in their social conditions, and acceleration of the oblast's socio-economic development, and the resignation of certain republican leaders.

In the evening Comrade Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Commitee Party Control Committee, spoke on Tajik television. He gave an assessment of the political situation in the republic and replied to questions worrying the working people.

Tajik Party Holds Emergency Session

LD1602140190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Now a dispatch from (Fedor Yurin), our correspondent in the capital of Tajikistan, Dushanbe, where the situation has been tense since last Sunday:

Attacks on homes and the beating up of civilians by extremist Tajik youths have been going on for nearly a week. Martial law and a curfew are in force. Wednesday night an airborne regiment with experience in dealing with extremist elements in Abkhaziya, Georgia, began to arrive from the city of Sukhumi, but so far the army has taken no part in ending the violence. Thursday morning, self- defense units representing a cross-section of the ethnic groups living in Dushanbe held a meeting on the central square to denounce extremism and reaffirm the friendship of Russians and Tajiks. It was announced at the meeting that as of Thursday, Tajikistan would observe three days of mourning for those who had lost their lives in the disturbances. The leaders of [word indistinct] organizations, (Rubaru) and (Rostokhez), have formed a committee to stop the bloodshed and stabilize the situation.

The head of Tajikistan's planning committee, Karimov, and the minister of culture, Tabarov, are on the committee, the committee called Unity. Wednesday night, leaders of the republic appeared on local television together with the chairman of the Committee for Party Control under the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Boris Pugo, who said that for the present there would be no resignation of the three men whose resignation is demanded by the extremists, namely the first secretary of the republican communist party's Central Committee, Kakhar Makhkamov, the president of the republic, Gaibnazar Pallayev, and the prime minister, Izatullo Khayeyev.

The arrival of an airborne regiment, activities of the self-defense groups, and patrolling by helicopter gunships have brought about a gradual turn for the better in the republic. The incidents of looting and arson attacks have decreased. However, the interior ministry headquarters are still receiving phone calls from scared residents. Its latest reports put the number of killed at 18, with 15 shot dead. The number of injured has topped 200.

In the small hours of Friday an emergency session of the Tajik Communist Party's Central Committee opened in Dushanbe. Speakers condemned the resignation appeals by the republic's three top officials as short-sighted and capitulatory. The session rejected the appeals and asked [the] government in Moscow to send in a commission to investigate the circumstances and the reasons behind the unrest and establish the role of certain republican leaders in the destabilization.

The ill-considered decision by the Tajik interior minister to set free scores of troublemakers has led to a new escalation of the aggression. Hailed by the crowd as heroes they continue to fan tensions. The correspondent of the independent news agency INTERFAX has called the events early signs of a political and economic crisis in the republic. The violence is largely blamed on the leaders of the unofficial organization (Rostokhez) who claim they are planning new actions.

The mounting tensions have prompted many Russian speakers to leave the republic. At noon local time on Friday the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee resumed its session.

Leaders Reportedly Threaten 'Slaughter'

LD1502051690 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] There is yet another seat of tension that has appeared on the map of the USSR, and that is Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, a Central Asian republic where riots have been underway since last Sunday. Here is a report from there by our correspondent. (announcer-read):

Tajikistan places eighth among Soviet republics in population, but it places among the first for the number of problems: its birth rate and child mortality rate are the highest in the country; its industry is underdeveloped and its agriculture has for years been oriented on but one prop and that's cotton, the growing of which brings in very little money; school leavers have often been unemployed; several years ago in the wake of the war in Afghanistan Muslim fundamentalists stepped up their activities. This is the Wahabis sect, extremely influential in the Arab countries. A few unofficial public organizations have sprung up in Tajikistan lately. Among them: (?Rostokhez), or Revival, which, in fact, is a popular front of Tajikistan. Although this organization pledges loyalty to perestroyka, its activity has some nationalistic and fundamentalist trends like the creation of a greater Islamic state stretching from Samarkand to Baghdad.

Disturbances were sparked off by the news that a few dozen Armenian families arrived in Dushanbe to escape the pogroms in Baku. Rumors were immediately spread that they were to be provided with housing, even though there was an acute shortage of housing in the city. There was a powerful earthquake in the Gissar region near Dushanbe last year. Many people died. Thousands were left homeless; they still live in tents unsuitable even for living in Tajikistan's mild winter. And one can understand how indignant people were on learning that new flats would allegedly be given to newcomers.

After a rally on the square near the building of the Communist Party Central Committee last Sunday the angry crowd tried to capture the building by assault. Militia and Interior Ministry troops dispersed the crowd using arms. As a result six people were killed. Several dozen were wounded that day.

The authorities declared a state of emergency and curfew in the city. The night passed relatively calmly but on Monday a few thousand students, secondary school pupils, and jobless from nearby villages made another attempt to capture the Central Committee building. The crowd demanded that the Government and the Tajik Communist party Central Committee, led by its first secretary, Kakhar Makhkamov, resign in full and all Armenians be sent out of the republic. Driven back by Interior Ministry troops thousands of people staged rampages in downtown. As a result the bus and railway terminals were damaged, virtually all the shops were looted and offices and hotels were attacked. Pogroms and atrocities continued all the following day. The anti-Armenian slogans turned into anti- Russian slogans. City militants were joined by extremists who arrived by bus from other parts of the republic. Residents of other nationalities began to form self-defense units, not hoping for assistance from the authorities and the law enforcement agencies controlling the situation only in the center of the city around government offices.

The emergency plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee on Wednesday did not accept Makhkamov's resignation. The special meeting pointed out that the riots had been carefully planned in advance by local unofficial organisations and religious fanatics.

In the meantime the commander of the motorized infantry division deployed in Dushanbe announced that the army would not meddle in the conflict between Interior Ministry troops and the population. The republic must restore order on its own, he said. However, the families of servicemen are reliably protected in the garrisons by tanks and troop reinforcements.

The Soviet Government has been receiving requests from Dushanbe residents to send more troops or order the army into the city to restore order at least by their presence and defend them against militants.

According to some reports Azerbaijan's Popular Front has been involved in the events in Dushanbe. Front representatives visited the republic recently and called for keeping Armenians away from Tajikistan. The militant leaders threatened to slaughter all unfaithful next Saturday, and apparently they mean it. The (?Rostokhez) leaders and local authorities are unable to control the situation and influence the crowd which has made yet another demand: to open the border with Afghanistan.

The situation in the city remains tense. If the Army and Government of the Soviet Union do not interfere in the conflict there could undoubtedly be many more casualties.

Moscow TV Coverage of Tajikistan Developments

Resignation of Tajik Leaders Rejected

LD1602194990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] And one more urgent report which has reached us from Dushanbe.

Seeking to prevent bloodshed, on 14 February the republic's leadership agreed to resign at the forthcoming plenum of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee and the session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. This agreement was given in the course of negotiations with representatives of those taking part in mass meetings.

The same evening a meeting of the party aktiv of the city of Dushanbe was held, with members of the Communist Party Central Committee taking part. The participants in the meeting sharply condemned the decisions taken by the leaders as not being in accordance with the views of communists and of the overwhelming majority of the republic's inhabitants.

During the night of 15 February a plenum of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee took place at which the question of the political situation in the republic was examined. The plenum continued its work on 16 February. A few representatives from among those holding mass meetings were invited to attend it. The overwhelming majority of speakers resolutely condemned the attempts by destructive forces to bring pressure to bear on party bodies and on the republic's lawfully elected organs of government. Taking into account the complicated situation in the city of Dushanbe and in the republic, the plenum did not accept the resignation of First Secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Makhkamov and of other leaders of the republic.

The plenum was addressed by Boris Pugo, chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the present time the necessary measures are being taken to further stabilize the situation in Dushanbe.

Pugo Interviewed on Situation

LD1702175390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] According to information in the possession of the editorial office, the situation in Dushanbe is stabilizing, but here is a report we have just received from our correspondent there.

[Correspondent M. Madzhidov, identified by caption] Following upheavals caused by the tragic events of 12-14 February, life in Dushanbe appears to be stabilizing. The majority of enterprises, shops, and passenger transport are functioning. Soldiers guarding state installations have been able to relax a bit. Infrequent townspeople and visitors are trying to get to the center to look at the devastated and looted shops and buildings. Loudspeakers installed in the street are transmitting the proceedings of the extraordinary plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee, which was in session for two days. An impartial and principled discussion took place. The plenum participants once again expressed confidence in the entire bureau and in Kakhar Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. This morning a news conference was held for journalists of the central and republican news media. The plenum participants are today meeting the people and are explaining the situation that has arisen. [video shows trolley-buses and other traffic in street; row of three BMD airborne combat vehicles, attended by soldiers, alongside a building; passers-by; journalists and speakers at news conference]

Boris Karlovich Pugo, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the party control committee attached to the CPSU Central Committee, is in Dushanbe on the instructions of the Politburo. He met workers at the Dushanbe bakery association, which has functioned without interruption over these last difficult days, supplying the workers of the capital with bread.

[Pugo] We're going to need an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of what happened. No doubt it is going to take a certain amount of time. Governmental and procuracy bodies are going to be involved. An inquiry will have to be held, but it seems to me perfectly clear today that restructuring must proceed more energetically. The work of all bodies—party and local soviet ones—must proceed more decisively and better. Improvements in people's lives must be implemented more rapidly. I would like to distinguish these people from the thugs who actually brought about the disorders, and caused the many injuries. This is indeed a fact. I don't want to lump them all together. [video shows interior of bakery; Pugo in white coat speaking to correspondent]

Tajik Leadership Receives Calls in Support

LD1602203390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On 14 February a meeting of the party aktiv of the city of Dushanbe took place, with members of the Communist Party Central Committee taking part. The participants in the meeting sharply condemned the decision taken by the leaders as not being in accordance with the views of communists and of the overwhelming majority of the republic's inhabitants and as not prompting them to take decisive actions to normalize the situation or remove the causes of the mass disorders.

The republic's leaders appeared on radio and television with explanations of the motives for the decision taken, and informed the population about the specific measures for normalizing the situation which are being implemented by the republic's Central Committee and government. The Central Committee received hundreds of phone calls, telegrams and letters which supported the leadership of the Central Committee, Government, and Presidium of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

'Normal Working Rhythm' Returns

LD1902183790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Igor Kudrin report; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Kudrin] These days we await reports from Dushanbe with particular impatience. What is happening there today, and how is it there today? The peak of tension would seem to be past. This was also stated at a news conference at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee. Central Committee officials announced that the city is moving into its normal working rhythm. Workers and employees at enterprises and organizations will still be paid the wages due to them for the enforced absenteeism connected with the events in Dushanbe. It has been decided to open a special bank account to collect funds to help restore the installations in the city that were ransacked by the extremists.

[A. Goryanov, identified by caption] Dushanbe on 19 February. It is amazing, a city that only yesterday was living under great tension is changing literally before one's eyes. In spite of the early hour, the streets are fairly full of life. The Dushanbe people, who have undergone great shocks in these days, seem to us not to have lost heart. Today the majority of establishments in the city had already started work, and passenger transport had almost completely resumed operation. Communications establishments and those supplying electricity and heat are functioning, drug stores and shops are open, and what is quite gratifying is that classes have begun in the schools.

For many inhabitants of Dushanbe this morning began in lines at newspaper kiosks. Incidentally, everyone, young and old, has immense interest in objective and full information. [video shows street scenes; a building site at work; newspapers being sold at kiosk]

There was discussion of objective coverage of the events in the city at a news conference at the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee today, too. It was noted that certain reports, specifically that about pogroms at Clinical Hospital No. 3 do not accord with reality, to put it mildly. There really were people of different nationalities among the casualties. [video shows five officials facing an audience at a news conference] [passage omitted]

Dushanbe Situation Updated

LD1802212390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Feb 90

[From the "Seven Days" program; report from Dushanbe by correspondent A. Guryanov—identified by caption]

[Excerpts] This is the central part of the city: Lenin Prospect. It was from here that we decided to begin our Sunday report. These camera shots are direct evidence of the events played out at the beginning of this week in Dushanbe, and are a reproach to those who try to make use of the aggressive energy which has built up among the masses due to social disarray. They are also a reproach to those who still do not want to take the people's interests into account, and do not even try to hear their voice.

Here in Dushanbe we have been asking ourselves again and again why—why does everything happen like this? Why has Dushanbe, too, been affected by an outburst of ethnic conflict after Fergana and Transaucasia? [video shows a burned-out and smashed building; a BMP armored vehicle; everyday street scenes; folk music is being played throughout, apparently via a public address system]

These are film shots from the news of those tragic days, filmed by Tajik television.

The motive for the 1 February actions was provided by rumors about Armenian refugees being provided with apartments, and this in a city where thousands of families with many children are still living in barracks and shacks. True, as it became clear later, several Armenian families did in fact come to their relatives in Dushanbe, and some of them were provided with temporary housing in republican boardinghouses and sanatoria. There was no question of apartments. However, this information was not made available to the city's inhabitants from the very beginning, and this, as our numerous meetings have confirmed, was skilfully taken advantage of by forces interested in destabilizing the situation and in maintaining the old orders based on feudal planning relations.

The peaceful meeting which began in the city center on 12 February suddenly took a different and unexpected turn. Representatives of the law-enforcement bodies and subunits of the Internal Troops were showered with stones and iron bars. After several warnings, the subunits attempted to force the more aggressive thugs out of the square. A panic started. After all, many of those present at the square that day had come with noble intentions, not thinking that they could become the hostages of criminal elements. Once again blood flowed. The outburst of vandalism took in the whole city.

According to preliminary data, 20 people died in those tragic days. Among them were Tajiks, Russians, and Tatars. More than 500 people sustained injuries. [video shows previously-shown film of demonstrators at a meeting, then clashing with militia in riot gear; a burned-out bus]

This shop, like many others, was sacked during the pogrom days. According to preliminary data, the damage is estimated at R500,000. [passage omitted] [video shows militia lieutenant and a shop that has been wrecked and looted]

Once again we return to the city center. Usually there are a lot of people here, but now there is just military hardware, troop patrols, and the odd passers-by. We have been standing and asking ourselves again and again how such a thing could happen in a republic where respect for one's elders is imbibed with one's mother's milk. [passage omitted]

Shock and quite understandable fear have given way to sober analysis. In all the districts of Dushanbe where we have been these days, the local inhabitants are setting up self-defense detachments to help the militia, and believe me, the creation of these detachments is not just another invention of the administration. The people who have put on white armbands were prompted to take his step by a genuine desire to resist the extremists and to show their attitude to those who are attempting to draw the republic into the abyss of rioting, and to divert the democratic processes which have begun.

Yes, Dushanbe has been through a lot in recent days. The situation is now gradually getting back to normal, although the formidable military hardware and troop patrols continue to be one of the city sights.

Where are they from, these soldiers? From what areas, and what nationality are they? We will probably never know, but it will always be remembered that it was those 20-year old lads who saved the city from chaos and halted the madness.

Similar scenes, with up to 100 people gathering around our film crew, took place at every step. Sometimes we, too, were gripped by emotion; after all, one had to listen to everyone's opinion. People wanted this very much.

[Unidentified man] You understand, the Tajik family has, as you know, five, six, or seven children, and then we had the earthquake in Gissar. People are stil living in tents there. Of course, this is all understandable, but it does not provide grounds for extremism. Understand me correctly: All this can be resolved through peaceful dialogue.

[voice in crowd] Right, right.

[Man] It does not mean we have to beat each other up, annihilate each other. We are a single family. We have to do the reverse—raise our culture, raise our social environment, you understand, our condition, the prosperity of our people, in order that every Tajik, every Russian—irrespective of nation, whether Tatar, Kazakh, Kirghiz, or whatever—should live in our land. We have enough land. We have enough. [video shows soldier checking a civilian's passport; civilians with white armbands manning a makeshift roadblock; people in the streets; troops sitting beside their armored vehicle]

Muslim Leader Rejects 'Extremism'

LD1902101890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 90

[From the "Seven Days" program; report from Dushanbe by correspondent A. Guryanov]

[Text] [Goryanov] There is a problem which in the press has acquired the title of "The Central Asian Syndrome." We are talking about Islam, or, more accurately, what sort of influence the religion has on social processes in Tajikistan.

We decided to get so-called first-hand information. We took this question to the head of the adminsitration of the Muslims of Tajikistan, Kazi-Hadji Akbar.

[Akbar] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful, praise be to God, and prayers and peace be upon the prophet of God," [previous sentence in Arabic]

The clergy of Tajikistan, and the kazi-ata of the Muslims of Tajikistan have no direct involvement in the latest events which have taken place in the city of Dushanbe. According to our faith, and in my own personal view, we always want to be outside of politics.

[Goryanov] Well, what is your personal attitude to extremism?

[Akbar] I am totally against extremism. Our religion is against this. I want to say that extremism, according to the concept which in the mass media has now almost become synonymous, as it were, with Islamic extremism, does not exist in our republic. Even those few groupings about which fundamentalists and extremists are speaking—well, it's not true. We do not have any extremism to be afraid about.

[Goryanov] Esteemed Kazi, tell us please, what is the way out of the difficult situation which has arisen in your republic, and in your city?

[Akbar] Yes, both in the city and in the republic there is a very complicated situation now, and the only way out which I can see, and I don't lay claim to knowing the truth, is, in the first instance, the fullest, and most truthful information about what has happened; and in the second place, that the leaders of all ranks face the people, to put an end to resolving problems concerning official positions.

TASS Continues Reportage of Tajik Situation

Pugo on Tajik Leaders' Resignation

LD1602133390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1115 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (TASS)—An uneasy situation, although under control, still prevails in Dushanbe, capital of Tajikistan (a Soviet Central Asian republic), where a state of emergency was imposed following clashes provoked by extremists on 12 February, the central newspapers report today.

Commenting on the announcement of the resignation of the republican leadership, which has not yet been accepted, Boris Pugo, candidate member of the politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the CPSU Central Committee, stated on local television that all such changes can take place only by means of the law. Only the appropriate supreme bodies can decide on an issue concerning its leaders.

A protocol on talks between the provisional committee, which was set up yesterday, and the republican leadership was read on Tajik radio and television. As GUDOK [published by USSR Ministry of Railways] writes, the protocol notes that troops will be used only for the protection of priority buildings. In addition, the protocol makes it incumbent on all, including newly formed public organizations and formations, to make the utmost effort to end the disturbances in Dushanbe and to restore a tranquil normal life.

In giving information about the activities of the international self-defense detachment, which was created on the initiative of a deputy of the rayon soviet in one of the city's micro-rayons, SELSKAYA ZHIZN stresses that it includes Tajiks, Russians, Uzbeks, and Tatars. Similar operational detachments have been created in virtually every micro-rayon in the city. According to the paper, the night passed without incident. True, there was some alarm, but fortunately it turned out to be false. In some areas the inhabitants were providing food for troops who were protecting them.

One of the few structures in Dushanbe which continues to function is the railway. However, a problem has arisen with the delivery of locomotive teams for the shift. The chief of the Dushanbe section of the Central Asian Railway is demanding that an armored carrier be allocated to the section for this purpose.

One important task is to establish the production and supply to the population of bread and milk. SELSKAYA ZHIZN writes in this connection about a considerable increase in the production of bakery products by enterprises. But it is only by military escort that vehicles can reach the city. Where necessary, trade is being conducted straight from the trucks.

The Tajik people have never been cruel, said Ikram Kurbanov, first deputy chairman of the republican State Committee for the Agro-industrial Complex, "and that is why they find the acts of vandalism and looting, carried out by extremists, doubly offensive and hard to take. I have no doubt that all these excesses are well organized and provoked by someone," he said.

Measures Continue To Stabilize Situation

LD1602205190 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe February 16 TASS—The situation in the republican capital has been somewhat stabilised over the past two days, although complications have not all been removed.

On Friday, 56 of the city's 86 industrial enterprises and 32 of the 80 building organisations operated normally. Public transport resumed its work across the city. Some educational and practically all pre-school establishments remained closed.

A full-scale meeting of the Tadzhikistan Communist Party Central Committee met on Thurdsay night to consider the political situation in the republic and continued deliberations on Friday. Some participants of the February 13 rally were invited to attend.

Most speakers at the meeting condemned attempts by destructive forces to pressure the party bodies and the legitimately elected bodies of republican state authority. The plenum declined the resignation of the Republican Party Chief Kakhar Mahkhamov and other republican leaders under present conditions in Dushanbe and the republic as a whole.

The plenary meeting was addressed by Boris Pugo, alternate member of Politburo and chairman of the Party Control Committee of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Measures continue to be taken to further stabilise the situation in Dushanbe.

Death Toll Up to 22

LD1702190890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1750 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 17 Feb (TASS)—TASS special correspondents report:

The events in Dushanbe were prompted by a mass of most acute unresolved social problems, Shodi Shabdolov, secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, declared at a news conference here today. In his opinion, the capital of this Soviet Central Asian republic is very short of housing. When a rumor spread around the town that refugees were arriving from Azerbaijan, and that they were immediately being given apartments here, an explosion occurred which cost the republic about 20 million rubles.

The situation in the town is gradually returning to normal. Ministry of Internal Affairs reports testify to the fact that numerous indications about violations of the law, shooting with firearms, and pogroms are coming into the duty posts of the internal affairs bodies. However, in the main, when a check was made these reports were not corroborated. Four active participants in the mass disorders have been arrested by the law enforcement bodies.

In Dushanbe the rumors are still being circulted that the perpetrators of the pogroms and murders are not being punished. "We are investigating all the known cases of the crimes committed," Yevgeniy Zakharov, deputy procurator of Tajikistan stated in this connection. "It has been established that to date 22 people have died as a result of the tragic events. An investigation is being carried out into every case involving death. On account of robberies, thefts, acts of hooliganism, and brigandish attacks, 36 criminal cases have been opened. Nineteen people have been arrested, among them mainly young people who are not employed anywhere."

Studies have resumed at most higher education establishments and technical colleges in the city. Only 68 of the city's 94 schools have been working. The point is that many parents still have not made up their mind to let their children go to school. However, self-defense detachments, which consist of teachers, senior pupils, and parents have been set up at each school. Nursery schools will be closed temporarily.

The Dushanbe section of the Central Asian railway has been working according to a special regime these past days, but the trains are running strictly according to schedule.

A decree of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium has been issued about the formation of a commission to investigate the circumstances connected with the events in Dushanbe on 12, 13, and 14 February 1990.

Party Secretary Briefs Newsmen

LD1702210990 Moscow TASS in English 2102 GMT 17 Feb 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Dushanbe February 17 TASS—"The events in Dushanbe were caused by acute and unresolved social problems," Secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committe Shodi Shabdolov told a news conference here today. He said that the Tajik capital of Dushanbe is very short of housing and rumours that Armenian refugees are arriving in Dushanbe from Azerbaijan and are immediately given flats produced an explosion which cost nearly 20 million roubles to Tajikistan.

The situation in Dushanbe is getting back to normal. Numerous offences and cases of firing and housebreaking were reported to the bodies of the Tajik Ministry of the interior. However, most of these reports were unconfirmed. The law enforcement bodies arrested four active participants in the disturbances.

Rumours about the impunity of participants in housebreakings and murders are spreading in Dushanbe. "We are investigating all crimes," said Yevgeniy Zakharov, deputy head of the Tajik Public Prosecutor's Office. "It has been established that 22 people were killed in the tragic events. Every death case is being investigated. 36 criminal proceedings have been instituted on cases of robberies, burglaries and violent assaults. 19 people, predominantly unworking youths, were arrested."

Most higher educational establishments and technical schools have resumed classes. However, only 68 out of 94 secondary schools are working in Dushanbe. Many parents are still afraid of sending their children to school. Self-defence groups, consisting of teachers, senior pupils and parents, have been set up at every school. All kindergartens will be temporarily closed.

The Dushanbe section of the Central Asian railway is working on a special schedule now, although trains go strictly on timetable.

The Presidium of the Tajik Supreme Soviet has passed a decree on setting up a commission to investigate the circumstances of the events that took place in Dushanbe on February 12, 13 and 14.

Secretary Denies 'Coup Attempt'

LD1702215990 Moscow TASS in English 2150 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe February 18 TASS—Secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee for Questions of Ideology Shodi Shabdolov has denied rumour that a coup attempt was made by some Tajik political circles on Friday night.

Speaking at a news conference on Saturday, he said that the situation in Dushanbe was fully controlled by the Tajik party organisation and the Tajik Government.

He also said that at the emergency plenum of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee which ended on Friday night, the majority of communists gave a resolute rebuff to the leaders of the so-called unofficial associations who are willy-nilly contributing to the destabilization of the situation in Dushanbe and some other Tajik cities.

The plenum expressed full trust in the current Tajik leadership and demanded resolute measures to stabilize the situation and punish the instigators of unauthorised rallies that had led to bloodshed and human victims.

Journalists were told about a package of measures to protect civilians in Dushanbe from extremists, curb unsanctioned meetings and improve the work of shops, public transport and public health institutions.

Despite Shabdolov's assurances that Dushanbe residents have nothing to be afraid of and that public order is being maintained by more than 7,000 militiamen and Interior Ministry and Soviet Army troops, the situation in the Tajik capital remains unstable.

Over the past 24 hours 61 people were detained for violating the state of emergency. Twenty kilograms of narcotic grass, known here as anasha, were discovered in a car stopped by Tajik traffic officers.

Despite an officially declared mourning, rallies were held in the district centres of Ordzhonikidzeabad and Komsomolabad near Dushanbe. The demonstrators demanded an improvement of the living standards of the local population and the resignation of the Republic's senior officials and expressed determination to take part in a meeting that is scheduled to be held by leaders of unofficial organisations on Dushanbe's central square at noon on February 18.

'Tens of Thousands' Reported at Demonstration

LD1802182390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1721 GMT 18 Feb 90

[By TASS special correspondents V. Zenkovich and V. Gondusov]

[Text] Dushanbe, 18 Feb (TASS)—From early morning people began to flow down into the center of the capital of Tajikistan. Near the Hotel Tajikistan people were stopped by cordons of militiamen, internal troops, and the Soviet Army. To avoid disorder and disruption in adjacent residential areas to the movement of transport representatives of law and order bodies, demonstrators were not allowed into the square near the republic's Council of Ministers building.

Those who gathered, referring to a promise given by a series of informal organizations and several religious figures, demanded that they be allowed through. The republic's leadership decided on a compromise solution in this case. Despite the state of emergency in force in Dushanbe, it was proposed to the demonstrators that they hold a meeting in one of the stadiums.

But the people did not want to leave, and only an appeal by (Khadzhi Akbar Turadmunzad) the kazi [Islamic leader] of the Muslims of Tajikistan, convinced those who had gathered to go to the outskirts of Dushanbe to the city cinema and concert hall. Tens of thousands of people gathered there.

As TASS correspondents have been informed by the temporary USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs press center, Internal Ministry bodies are undertaking active work in the Tajikistn Soviet Socialist Republic to uncover the leaders and active participants in the excesses. Twenty criminal cases have already been opened against them.

[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 18 February, in a similar report on the situation in Dushanbe, adds the following: "Internationalist soldiers rendered active assistance in maintaining law and order. Not only people of Dushanbe, but also residents of rayons neighboring the capital, gathered at the rally. People spoke of a lack of social facilities, and shortages of housing, food, and medicines."]

Dushanbe 'Gradually' Normalizing

LD1902143190 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe Febraury 19 TASS—Life is gradually returning to normal in the capital of Tajikistan. Classes in the majority of schools and institutes, which were suspended because of riots on February 12, resumed today. Public catering establishments and food shops are open. Kindergartens were opened although many parents do not risk taking their kids there.

Public transport has resumed. Flowers are being sold on one of the central streets. A tank stands nearby and soldiers in bullet-proof vests with automatic weapons are posted a little farther away.

An unsanctioned rally, which attracted more than 15,000 residents of Dushanbe and nearby villages, was held on one of the city squares on Sunday [18 February].

Calls to lift the state of emergency and the curfew were added to the demand of a resignation of the republic's leadership, which was put forward during the demonstration at the building of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee on February 12.

Speakers at the rally said that central news organisations were impartial in covering developments in Dushanbe. At the same time, participants in the rally dissociated themselves from militant actions by some young people, which caused bloodshed, and denounced attempts to sow ethnic strife.

People chanted the slogans "Russians and Tajiks are Brothers," "Yes—to Perestroika, no—to Bureaucrats," and others. On the same day, the wave of rallies swept other cities of the republic as well.

Calls not to be overcome with panic and solidify international gains are made on central television and in newspapers. Renowned Tajik writers, public figures and workers speak to Dushanbe residents.

An international front is being formed in the city on the basis of self-defence detachments. According to tentative figures, it already numbers more than 2,000 people, among them Russians, Tajiks, Tatars, Germans, Jews, and people of other nationalities.

A Soviet Interior Ministry spokesman in Tajikistan told TASS that the number of people who had suffered during the past week had reached 505. One hundred and eighty eight people were hospitalised with gunshot and knife wounds, among them 19 militiamen and servicement.

The events claimed 22 lives. Republican Interior Ministry agencies detained 40 people. Twenty of them are charged with organising pogroms, arson, attacks, and other illegal actions.

Criminal Proceedings Initiated

LD1902164190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1550 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 19 Feb (TAJIKTA-TASS)—The Procuracy of Soviet Tajikistan has initiated criminal proceedings against 20 active participants in the mass disturbances which took place here 12-13 February this year. They are accused of attempted murder, ransacking and setting fire to public buildings and stores, and attacking "first aid" vehicles. Taking part in the investigation is an emergency investigative group of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR Procuracy which has come to Dushanbe. Mamadayez Navzhuvanov, minister of internal affairs of the Tajik SSR and military commandant of the city of Dushanbe, spoke of this at a briefing for Soviet journalists today.

"All the ringleaders, involved in whatever way in the tragedy, will be sentenced with all the severity of the law," he emphasized. "They will be tried in open court which anybody can attend. Some court sessions will be broadcast on republican television." Telephone numbers have been given, on which citizens who witnessed crimes being committed can give information of interest to the investigative bodies.

As was announced at the briefing, since the introduction of the emergency situation in Dushanbe, the population has voluntarily handed in 457 firearms, 16,000 rounds of ammunition, and 12 molotov cocktails. At the same time, according to reports from the law and order bodies, far from all inhabitants of the city and republic have given up their weapons. The extremists still have a good many homemade incendiary devices and cold arms. All of this is causing legitimate anxiety.

During the meeting with the journalists, information was received about one more unsanctioned meeting in Komsomolabad (a rayon center in the Pamir foothills). According to unconfirmed data, several hundred people are taking part in it. Those assembled are demanding a just solution to the urgent social and economic problems of their rayon and an improvement in the ecological situation. Earlier in the day, a demonstration by 1,500 people took place in the town of Kurgan-Tyube (in the south of the republic) in support of the demands of meetings in Dushanbe for the resignation of certain leaders of Tajikistan.

Tajik Authorities Issue Appeal

LD2002122790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Dushanbe, 20 Feb (TAJIKTA-TASS)—The leaders of the Communist Party and the government of Soviet Tajikistan have addressed an appeal to their fellow countrymen calling for consolidation of all the healthy forces of society, for a general search for a way to heal the people's pain, and for calm in the republic to be secured. The document was published today in all local newspapers published in Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek, and is being regularly broadcast on republic radio and television.

The appeal stresses that all sorts of political and adventurists and purely hooligan elements have cunningly taken advantage of the people's justified dissatisfaction with the standard of living and of their desire to speed up ther solution of socioeconomic problems. It was they who incited some of the inhabitants of Dushanbe and the surrounding rayons to attend unauthorized meetings on 12 and 13 February which led to armed clashes with the law enforcement bodies and casualties on both sides. Criminal elements who have nothing in common with the Tajik people took part in arson attacks and pogroms against administrative buildings, plundered shops, violated the honour and dignity of our women and girls, and sowed interethnic dissension, the appeal says.

The leaders of the republic's Communist Party and government have assured the populace that those guilty of the tragic events in the city of Dushanbe will be identified and punished with the full weight of the law. Some of them are shortly to appear in court. Furthermore, a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Republic on increased accountability for actions against public order and the safety of citizens has been in force since 19 February. Administrative and criminal proceedings are being brought against individuals for producing or possessing with the intention of distributing, and also for distributing in oral, handwritten, printed, video, or audio form materials which contain calls for pogroms and the forcible eviction of civilians and which are intended to sow panic among the populace.

According to the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry temporary press center in Tajikistan, in the past 24 hours a further 53 firearms have been voluntarily surrendered by the people, and valuables worth 13,000 rubles which were stolen from a devastated jewelry shop on 12 February were returned. No ethnic-related crimes have been recorded. At the same time, 67 people have been detained for curfew violations, and 11 state and private sector motor vehicles without number plates have been noted.

Azerbaijanis Provoked Dushanbe Incidents

NC1802143090 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] As a result of the well-known incidents that took place in Tajikistan's capital Dushanbe, the lives of the local Armenian population were threatened. Since then, airplanes started flying one after another from Dushanbe to Yerevan carrying Armenian refugees. Those who arrived from Dushanbe told our correspondents at Zvartnost airport that the events in Tajikistan followed the same notorious scenario as Sumgait and Baku.

Representatives of the Azerbaijan People's Front arrived in Tajikistan earlier to provoke anti-Armenian sentiments. They have distributed large amounts of money and narcotics, specifically to the young people, and have called on them to expel all foreigners—first the Armenians—to topple the local authorities, and create an Islamic republic.

The refugees explained that the Tajik people have always been friendly toward the Armenians, and in these grave days many of them defended and protected the Armenians and expressed their indignation at the extremists' actions. However eventually, even these people were unable to do anything in the face of the crowd imbued with a sense of impunity and determined to pillage and massacre.

In contrast to the Azerbaijani Government, the Tajikistan leadership did not cooperate with the extremists. Rather to prevent the killing of Armenians, they immediately provided transportation to ensure their relocation to Armenia.

Transcaucasus Situation

Moscow Radio Updates Transcaucasus Developments

Curfew Extended; 15 Wounded in Bombing

LD1902180190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] TASS has just transmitted a report; it's a long one, but I will read out the beginning of it. The situation in Azerbaijan. The title is also encouraging: The situation in Normalizing.

The report says last Sunday servicemen of the interior troops and army subunits held a voluntary work day together with the population in some areas of Baku to tidy up the streets and squares. The new city commandant, Lieutenant-General Smyslov, deputy head of the USSR Interior Ministry troops, addressed the people of Baku. The address says: Our main task is to ensure public order and the safety of citizens, and to restore normal working life along with the working people and the party and soviet organs. The commandant appealed to the people of Baku to render all possible assistance in the solution of this common task.

But, at the same time, attempts to destabilize the situation on the part of extremists are continuing. Here is some information from 18 February: An explosive device went off in a passenger bus on the Shusha-Baku route on the road between Yevlakh and Lachin. Passengers were hurt; 15 people received wounds of various degrees of seriousness. They were taken to the hospital. An investigative group has been set up by the republican organizational committee for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the military command for the state of emergency area and investigations are being carried out. A decision has been made to extend the curfew by two hours.

Well, I repeat, the report is a long one and you will evidently read in tomorrow morning's papers.

Situation Stabilizing in Armenia

LD1902180390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] On the situation in Armenia: As Kakukhin, special TASS correspondent, has reported, the shortage of fuel and electric power continues to be felt in the republic. Despite this, Yerevan's chief concerns revolve round run of the mill, everyday things. Transport, enterprises, establishments, higher educational establishments, schools, and kindergartens are operating smoothly in the city.

The situation in the rayons bordering on Azerbaijan has been returning to stability over several days in the recent past. The process of arms being handed over is continuing. According to what Militia Colonel Sarkisov, head of the Armenian Interior Ministry's Inspecting Officers' Department [Inspektorskiy Otdel MVD Armenii] reported, in all in the republic more than a third of the arms stolen during the days of the tragic events in Baku and of the exacerbation of the situation along the border with Azerbaijan have been returned.

The process of arms being given up will undoubtedly be speeded up if attempts to finally stabilize the situation in the rayons bordering on Azerbaijan succeed, he said.

Despite the calm which appears to have come to the border region it is apparently still premature to speak of a final breakthrough.

Striking Continues

LD1702162590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is being monitored by law and order forces and troop units. The strike is continuing at industrial enterprises. Only 53 percent of enterprises are working according to schedule. On the Azerbaijan railway, 156 trains have been held up, including 48 en route for Armenia.

In the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] the situation remains largely unchanged. Traffic is escorted by troop units. Two freight trains have arrived at Stepanakert station. During the night of 15-16 February, in the small village of Kirkidzhan, an unknown person fired 15 shots at houses where people of Armenian nationality live. No one was hit.

At the same time the situation in Armenia is unchanged. Over the past 24 hours one hail [meteorological device] gun was returned to the internal affairs bodies; submission of fire arms and other weapons continues. A private to the Soviet Army, Kekichev, was wounded by fire from an automatic weapon in Gorisskiy rayon near the village of Shurnukh.

More on Stepanakert Weapons Surrender

LD1702163190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Stepanakert. Voluntary surrender of weapons continues in the region under a state of emergency. Thus, thanks to the explanatory work of the Military Commandant's Office of Zangelanskiy rayon in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and with the assistance of local party and soviet bodies, 58 training assault rifles, 59 sport rifles, two shotguns, and more than 35,000 cartridges were surrendered here voluntarily yesterday.

On February 16-17, passport checks were carried out in the oblast center. During those two days, 15 people, who did not have local residential rights, were sent out of the autonomous oblast. Some preventive work is being carried out with those infringing the passport regulations; they were cautioned officially.

In Stepanakert and some other rayon centers of the oblast, a strike continues. Only vital enterprises and services are working. In the region under a state of emergency, the Military Commandant's Office is undertaking measures for the further normalization of the situation.

Interior Ministry Notes Transcaucasus Situation

LD1702165790 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The Soviet Interior Ministry's Press Center says the situation in Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Tajikistan is on the whole calm.

In Azerbaijan, no more ethnic clashes have been reigistered, though a number of industries are still on strike. Twenty-seven people have been detained for breaking the dusk-to-dawn curfew.

In Armenia, there has been no major change. More firearms and cold steel have been given in.

In Dushanbe, the capital of the Central Asian republic of Tajikistan, steps are reportedly being taken to stabilize the situation. Sixty-one persons have been detained for breaking the curfew. Three hundred and twenty-seven hunting guns were handed over to law enforcing bodies. Four people were arrested for joining in unrest.

Transport Problems in Azerbaijan Detailed

LD1702203990

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 17 February in the "Vremya" newscast carries a 1 1/2-minute announcer-read report on transport problems in Azerbaijan.

"There is no new information so far about the situation in Armenia and Azerbaijan," says the announcer. But on the railways, two freight trains have arrived at Stepanakert station. Azerbaijan railways has 156 trains standing idle, 48 of which had been bound for Armenia. A meeting of transport and law-enforcement bodies of Transcaucasus was held today in Tbilisi, at which serious alarm was expressed over the situation on the railways of the two neighboring Republics. More than 300 trains have been idle for months, and industry, food supply, and passenger services are being affected. Repeated thefts on the North Caucasus railway, and safety on lines in Nakhichevan autonomous were discussed. A joint plan was drawn up to restore traffic as soon as possible.

TASS Reports on Transcaucasus Events

Interethnic Relations Exacerbated

LD1702183390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1614 GMT 17 Feb 90

[By special TASS correspondents from Azerbaijan and Armenia]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (TASS)—The situation in the Azerbaijan capital—where as a result of a sharp exacerbation of interethnic relations a state of emergency was introduced on 19 January—is relatively calm. However, elements inclined to extremism have not ceased attempts to destabilize the situation. The Azerbaijan Ministry of Internal Affairs press center has reported that on 16 February a homemade explosive device was blown up in the yard of a Baku footware factory by an unknown person. There are no casualties. An investigation is being carried out.

In the town of Gyandzha, an accessory to the murder of 12 Armenians, whose corpses were discovered on 14 February near the village of Yenikend in the Khanlarskiy Rayon, has been arrested.

A tense situation maintains in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. Industrial enterprises, construction organizations, and educational and cultural establishments have completely ceased work. Because of the lack of fuel Nakhichevan's transport enterprises are idle.

A strike at certain major Gyandzha enterprises continues. According to USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs data, only 53 percent of industrial enterprises are working in Azerbaijan at present.

Train traffic between Azerbaijan and Armenia did not start on 13 February, as had been reported earlier in the press, Oktay Abdulayev, an official of the Azerbaijan Railway Administration, stated in a talk with a TASS correspondent.

A total of more than 4,000 freight cars have ammassed on the railway now, reported Oktay Abdulayev. Moreover, they are designated both for the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and for Armenia. The situation that has formed on the Azerbiajan railway is affecting not only the delivery of cargo, but also the operation of the republic's industry: there is nowhere to ship output produced because of the excess of trains idle on the railway.

In the words of Abdulayev, trains are standing idle because of the ongoing blockade of the railway on the part of Armenia. Engineers of locomotive teams are apprehensive of attacks by extremists, and refuse to man trains until their personal safety is reliably guaranteed.

The provision of regular aerial communication with areas of Azerbaijan populated primarily by Armenians was discussed today at a meeting that took place in Yerevan of the republican operational headquarters for the state of emergency. Owing to the blockade, the inhabitants of the rayon centers of Getashen, Shaumyanovsk, as well as the villages adjoining them, are experiencing a lack of fuel and food. Only regular helicopter flights can solve these problems in the situation that has arisen.

Several such flights have already been carried out by military pilots, as well as civil aviation pilots. This week food and medicines have been delivered to Getashen. The team of doctors that arrived by air has provided medical aid to those in need. In Armenia many enterprises are continuing to experience difficulties in connection with the shortage of raw materials because of the ongoing blockade. The Razdan state regional electoral power station, which is today providing up to 60 percent of the overall Armenian consumption of electricity, is working under stress, caused by the chronic shortfalls of fuel.

The surrender of arms continues in the republic. Sergey Knyazyan, head of the internal affairs section at Yerevan's Erebuni airport, has reported that over the past two days 18 Makarov pistols stolen from here have been returned. In other areas of Armenia two hunting rifles and two homemade grenades have been handed in to representatives of the internal affairs bodies.

Extremists 'Destabilize' Situation

LD1902194790 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Baku February 19 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Sergey Petrov:

The situation in the Azerbaijani capital is gradually coming back to normal. New commandant of the city, Lieutenant-General Boris Smyslov made an address to the Baku people.

"Our main task is to ensure public order and citizens' security and, jointly with working people, party and government bodies, to restore normal work," the commandant said.

The commandant urged citizens, sober forces of society, to render every assistance in the solution of this task.

Meanwhile, the extremists continue attempts to destabilise the situation.

A mine planted in a bus exploded in the Askeran district of Nagorno-Karabakh on Sunday, when the bus was running on Yevlakh-Lachin highway.

15 injured passengers were rushed to a hospital. An investigation is conducted. The commandant takes measures to tighten the control of the situation on other roads. It has been decided to extend the curfew by two hours.

Four more persons suspected of having committed crimes on ethnic basis were detained in Baku. Altogether 189 participants in the January disturbances have been arrested.

The editorial boards continue to receive letters from servicemen of various nationalities in other regions of the country.

Head of the temporary press centre of the Soviet interior ministry in Azerbaijan, Aleksandr Tatsitov showed the TASS correspondent a telegram from Khabarovsk with an address of Azerbaijani pilots serving in the Pacific fleet to their relatives and friends, to people of all nationalities residing in Azerbaijan.

The letter demands that arbitrariness of extremist groups should be prevented and that everything should be done to end the conflict between the Azerbaijani and the Armenian peoples.

Stolen Weapons Returned in Yerevan

LD1702175290 Moscow TASS in Engish 1731 GMT 17 Feb 90

[By TASS special correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Gannady Kokukhin]

[Text] Yerevan February 17 TASS—Officers of the Interior Ministry section at the Yerevan airport found an interesting "parcel" at the door of their office early this morning: It contained two Makarov pistols.

The "parcel" was much heavier a day earlier. An ordinary sack contained 14 similar handguns.

Major Sergei Knyazyan, head of the airport section, said that "these arms issued to plane crew members before flights were stolen several weeks ago during the tragic days in Baku and the aggravated situation on the border with Azerbaijan".

"Right after the heist, our officers began a vigorous search for the pistols. In addition, we had several meetings with the population of residential areas adjacent to the airport and explained that crews performing flights at this troublesome time are in special need of these arms.

"We told people that criminals would eventually lay hands on the pistols."

These efforts have brought their fruit: 18 out of 21 stolen guns have been returned. Work to track down the remaining three pistols continues.

The process of surrendering weapons is going slower than expected. The main reason is the unstable situation in Azerbaijani districts bordering on Armenia.

In addition, many of those who illegally keep weapons, are afraid evidently of surrendering them for fear of criminal responsibility.

MVD Reviews Azerbaijan Situation

LD1602161990 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Baku February 16 TASS—A meeting in memory of those killed on the tragic days of January took place in Baku's Kirov Square on Thursday. The meeting was attended up by to 20,000 people. There were no breaches of the peace.

According to a spokesman for the USSR Interior Ministry press centre in Baku, over the past 24 hours another 20 burglaries committed from January 13 to 16 were confirmed. The number of confirmed instances of rampaging now totals 670. Law enforcement agencies are busy identifying people involved in the crimes.

Twelve buried bodies with the signs of violent death were discovered not far from Yenikend village in Hanlar district. They have been identified as Armenians who were removed from an old people's home in the town of Gandzha and who were reported missing on February 9. Agencies of the procurator's office are carrying out an investigation.

Strikes continue in 155 industrial plants in Baku, Gandzha, Sumgait, Mingechaur, and some other cities of the republic. According to the Azerbaijan state committee for statistics, losses incurred as a result of stoppages now amount to R525.6 million.

From 0600 on February 15 to 0600 on February 16, there were a total of 207 goods trains on the Azerbaijan railway. One goods train passed through Idzhevan station to Armenia, one to Nagorno-Karabakh and 15 to Georgia.

It is reported from the centre of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic that the situation there remains calm. Order is being restored in border areas through the efforts of the military.

At the same time locomotive drivers of the Dzhulfa locomotive depot have not resumed work in a demand for railway traffic safety in Megri-Kharchevan section running through Armenian territory.

A shortage of fuel, food and other goods is felt in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. Losses incurred as a result of stoppages in the republic as a whole have amounted to more than R25 million.

Gandzha—Life in the city is gradually returning to normal, although almost a third of industrial enterprises do not function or work at under-capacity. Shops are open but there is a shortage of food. Public utilities, everyday service establishments and communications are functioning normally.

Sabirabad—The situation in the area is calm. All enterprises and institutions are functioning normally. Farmwork is continuing as normal.

Sheki—The situation in the city and region is being normalised. Eighty-four firearms were handed over to law enforcement agencies over the past week.

The ordinary working rhythm at enterprises and institutions is being gradually restored. Classes are in progress in in secondary, technical and vocational schools.

However, many thousands of staff of the Lenin silk production mill still remain on strike. Some other plants are also idle.

Armenian Economy Suffers Consequences

LD1902191690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1807 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Yerevan, 19 Feb [TASS]—TASS special correspondent Konstantin Voytsekhovich reports:

The Soviet Army continues to experience the consequences of the economic blockade. There is a shortage of fuel and power. The links of the republic's industrial enterprises with allied enterprises in the country have been seriously disrupted. The Azerbaijan side is still failing to fulfill the agreement on resuming two-way rail traffic along the line Baku-Megri-Dzhulfa- Norashen-Yerevan. The only main line currently linking Armenia with the other regions of the USSR, the Transcaucasian railway, which runs across the territory of Georgia, cannot satisfy all goods haulage requirements alone.

Just over the last six weeks Armenia has been undersupplied by more than 25,000 wagons of national economic freight. For this same reason the republic has undersupplied the country with industrial output worth R180 million. Restorative operations have slowed down in the regions that suffered from the earthquake in December 1988.

Right now the economy is perhaps the only sphere in the life of the republic where the negative effects of the current situation in the Transcaucasus are evident, brought about by the aggravation of interethnic relations. The capital of Armenia, Yerevan, is carrying on its usual everyday concerns. Transport is functioning smoothly in the city. Enterprises and offices, colleges, schools, and kindergartens are working to their normal schedule. Over the course of the last few days the situation in the regions adjoining Azerbaijan has also stabilized.

Weapons continue to be handed in in the republic. Over the past weekend five rifles, a training sub-machine gun, and two hunting rifles were returned to internal affairs bodies. As was reported to a TASS correspondent by Colonel (Militia) Eduard Sarkisov, head of the inspectorate department of the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs, in the republic as a whole more than one-third of the weapons seized during the days of the tragic events in Baku and the aggravation of the situation on the border with Azerbaijan have already been returned. "The process of handing in weapons will undoubtedly speed up if it proves possible to finally stabilize the situation in the regions adjoining Azerbaijan, and the population residing there can feel safe," he stressed. In spite of the lull that has set in in the border area, it is clearly still too early to speak of a final breakthrough.

51 Percent of Enterprises Idle

LD1602184390 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—Over 51 per cent of the enterprises in Azerbaijan have been idle over the past 24 hours. Their total losses have reached 526.6 million roubles since January 18, sources at the Soviet Interior Ministry told TASS.

The demurrage of 114 cargo trains, including 49 for Armenia, was reported from the Azerbaijani railway.

Almost 20,000 people gathered for civil funeral rites in memory of last January's victims on Thursday in Baku's Kirov Park. No public order was violated.

A total of 29 people were detained in Azerbaijan on Thursday for violating the curfew.

Twelve corpses—one man and eleven women—were found in a sand pit near the Enikend settlement of the Shamkhorskiy district. The corpses, with numerous bullet and knife wounds, were taken to a morgue in the Gyandzhi town and identified. They include 11 handicapped Armenians who disappeared from the House of Invalids on January 24. An investigation is underway.

The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region remains unchanged. Only vital enterprises are operating in Stepanakert and the Mardakertskiy and Martuninskiy regions. All others are on strike. Automobile transportation across the region still must be accompanied by army patrols.

Arms are being handed in in Armenia. In Leninakan a group of unidentified men assaulted a sentry at 3 a.m. and took his automatic gun and 60 cartridges. An investigation is underway.

Central Press Continues Reportage of Events

Role of People's Front Described

PM1602135790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Feb 90 Second Edition p 8

[Article by special correspondents A. Gorokhov and V. Okulov: "A 'Front' Against Whom? Echo of the Baku Crisis"]

[Text] Baku, Dzhalilabad, Moscow—At the start of the month PRAVDA published our first report from Baku. We gave our observations of and reflections on the origins and causes of the crisis in Azerbaijan, which, alas, has lost none of its urgency yet. The events center on the republic's capital. But the processes going on along the periphery, especially in and around Dzhalilabad near the Soviet-Iranian border, also provide food for thought and conclusions.

The alarming reports from Dushanbe have prompted us to continue this discussion. We aren't about to claim that the factors which caused a new center of tension have the same roots. Nonetheless, the events in Azerbaijan are by no means over and demand consideration....

Hallucination

The landscape is familiar to us, it is almost like Afghanistan: Two armored vehicles standing by an administrative building with a smoke-blackened wall. The border guard who brought us to Dzhalilabad said abruptly: This is the rayon committee [raykom]. The officers in field jackets seemed familiar to us too: Weren't we with them in the first convoy at the beginning of our troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in May 1988? Even the city at that time, appearing now and again above us through the dust thrown up by the wheels, its outline shaped by the shadow of the eucalyptus and palm trees, bore almost the same name as this one—Jalalabad.

But no—we shrugged off the hallucination of Afghanistan—this is Azerbaijani soil in the Soviet border region and the building bearing the marks of recent destruction is the Azerbaijan Communist Party Raykom. And Major Vladimir Ilich Platonov, the commandant of Dzhalilabad, who was sitting at the desk in the first secretary's office, was not someone we had met on the dirt roads of Afghanistan.

Nevertheless, here, far from Baku, as though on the periphery of the Baku crisis, the old memories would not go away but brought comparisons and agonizing questions to mind. How is it that here, in a peaceful and, until recently, apparently prosperous land, we have reached a point where forces that emerged to the sound of the slogans of perestroyka, acting like gangs of extremists from across the border, have swept away what were quite recently the authorities in the town and the rayon—namely, the party organs and leaders of various ranks—have taken over the rayon newspaper, which used to extol local successes but had little to say about the problems, and, finally, swept away that which seemed eternal—the nearby border obstacles.

How can we have reached the point where our interlocutor, a Russian woman who has lived on Azerbaijani soil for over 20 years, who buried her husband here, and who devoted her youth, convictions, and spiritual strength to rayon party work, can describe what has happened here and ask us not to give her name? She is afraid...

Some local workers came into the commandant's office where we were holding our somber conversation with her. On seeing one of them the woman lowered her voice, then fell completely silent and waited: This man was connected with the "front," he might inform on her.

The fear which the woman felt several weeks ago when the mob, whipped up by local leaders of the APF [Azerbaijan People's Front], stoned the raykom building and set it on fire—that fear has not disappeared even now. It is as if the woman is imagining the future: The army subunit will leave Dzhalilabad, the roar of the armored vehicles will fade in the distance—and the mob directed by APF militants will relentlessly storm the raykom once more.

That is how it was in the town—wave after wave of them. About 4 months ago, when the APF had only just appeared as a political force, events seemed peaceful in character: Demands were put forward, problems named, but that was all. Representatives of the Baku republic leadership came—but did not resolve the questions. Rallies took place. In a rage the then first secretary struck (!) one really impassioned speaker—and the rally swept the secretary from the platform.

A plenum elected as first secretary a nominee from a neighboring rayon. The situation seemed to stabilize, but about 6 weeks later the local leaders of the "front" publicly accused the new secretary: You take bribes, too. The secretary quit his job and left for Baku. Representatives from the Central Committee soon arrived from Baku and a plenum was held. The new secretary lasted a week...

The local APF organization marked December with a blockade of the highway used by "Sovtransavto" trucks traveling to and from the Iranian border. Hundreds of vehicles accumulated near Dzhalilabad. Baku decided to clear the road. A militia cadet detachment arrived, the road was cleared. But the next day the mob scattered the militia, took their weapons, and burned dozens of the buses which had brought the cadets in.

A "front" rally in Baku proclaimed an APF "victory" in Dzhalilabad. Local leader Mirali Bayramov was declared the hero of Azerbaijan and appointed leader of the "front" in a number of rayons...

Just who is he, the man who decides the destiny of the Dzhalilabad authorities? A casualty doctor, we were told. In his colleagues' opinion, he is not highly skilled. He is about 35 and single.

So are all these local "front" members like this "hero of Azerbaijan," who must have surely taken the Hippocratic oath at one time?

"No," our interlocutor told us, "there are decent people among them too. You just can't see them for all those brandishing weapons. The latter are outright hooligans, holding the population in fear."

But did the "front" appear for no reason at all? Are there no problems in the rayon?

"There are," she replied, "and how. There are 22,000 unemployed in the okrug, although it cannot be said that the local authorities did nothing about it. We are building a brickworks, developing carpet-making, and setting up subsidiaries of industrial enterprises in the countryside. But even so the unemployment figure has risen in the past 2-3 years. Local construction organizations, for example, switched to self-financing—there were staff cuts. The same processes took place on the state farms [sovkhoz]. Some young men left to work in Russia, and the local girls can't find husbands..."

(We can add here that we saw groups of men standing around idly on street corners in Dzhalilabad while in the vineyards all that could be seen were the stooping figures of women).

"Well, what about the 'front'? Has it helped resolve the problems?"

"Bayramov and his crew managed to gather people round them by voicing antibribery slogans. But in fact they haven't done anything for the people, it's just one mafia replacing another. They take money from people on different pretexts. At first they demanded 30,000-50,000 rubles [R] each from the leaders of enterprises and sovkhozes. If they didn't pay up, they were replaced by Bayramov's men. (A diarchy came about: The new man sits in the office, the old director keeps the seal of office, the newcomer sends papers to the other man to be stamped.) Then they tried their extortion on ordinary people, too. Those who wouldn't pay were punished..."

Near the road we saw the burned-out house of a savings bank employee: That was the price she paid for failing to collect money for the APF. A telephone operator in a settlement who refused to pay "front" members R200 was taken to Dzhalilabad where she was beaten for allegedly "putting the border troops' call through to Gorbachev."

Imagine the savagery and cynicism of people capable of things like that...

The local "front" actively armed itself. It organized the production of petrol bombs, for example. Information suggests that there are several thousand bombs in the rayon. Six small boys were blown up by one—one boy died, the other five are in hospital.

"APF fighters openly state," Maj. Platonov told us: "that when the military leave, they will impose order."

What kind of "new order" are they capable of introducing? We put this question to the anxious people gathered around the raykom and to the people waiting for journalists from Moscow in a small meeting hall opposite the commandant's office: People do not want to leave without speaking to the visitors.

We received a torrent of answers:

"We have already tasted this 'order.' For example, armed militants pay a call on the chief of the rayon agro-industrial association: Give us your seal of office and get out, they say..."

"They use threats to stop people going to work. The production of meat, milk, and grapes has fallen sharply in the rayon..."

"The 'front' wants to overthrow Soviet power here..."

"They have collected R3 million around the okrug. There are a lot of criminals among 'front' members. They won't let the children go to school, they make them burn their young pioneer's ties..."

"Even if we were all bad communists and shoddy workers here, let Soviet power judge us. Problems should be solved not by guns and petrol bombs but by democratic means..."

"While the terrorists are at liberty and armed we cannot stop them. But the militia are doing nothing. Inform Moscow, they should send internal troops down here..."

"If the ringleaders were rounded up, there would be calm here in a month. People are already beginning to understand just what the APF is like and who is behind it. Azerbaijan is a test ground where the extremists are experimenting as to how to overthrow the legitimate authorities..."

Such were the opinions which greeted us when we emerged with Maj. Platonov from the raykom.

What Can Maj. Platonov Do?

But what about Maj. Platonov? What can he and his small army subunit do for Dzhalilabad? Of course, his soldiers in their armored personnel carriers are a force working for stability. Their task is to ensure order and prevent shooting. But removing weapons from the extremist elements is the job of the militia and the internal troops. Reinforcing the power structure is the concern of soviet and party organs.

Platonov, meanwhile, has his own view of events. He is full of ideas. He has seen for himself how the local APF organization is divided into armed loudmouths and those who really want to get rid of the people who sat around for years taking bribes. Local Communists' prestige among the population would rise, the major believes, if the raykom were to move to a more modest building, for example, and turn the present one into, say, a polyclinic.

Platonov and his men are accustomed to keeping a keen eye on events in the town entrusted to their care. But the major's subunit is not accustomed to police functions. It shouldn't be given that job.

We were pondering that in the helicopter en route from the border region to Baku. We were worried: What if the Baku crisis becomes an example, a universal model of army intervention in processes which ought to be settled by political methods. By the timely adoption of accurate decisions on a democratic basis, by monitoring their fulfillment, by skillful cadre policy, and by the vigorous activity of state structures locally. At first glance it looks seductively simple (simple for the time being!)—use the scalpel of military force to excise the cancerous tumor of the problems spawned by the failure to use political methods. It may seem that this force can achieve unity by compressing the stratum of the local authorities together with the stratum of the people, that it can achieve unity in such a way that a diffusion of ideas, intentions, and actions begins between them and welds the composites into the monolith of the notorious "indestructible unity."

This is an illusion!

Force is not an instrument of democracy. It is merely an extreme method used to defend it. Not for nothing is it said: You do not sow wheat with a sharp sickle.

But supposing things have gone that far, as they did during the Armenian pogroms in Baku and as they did here in Dzhalilabad?

We say again, that is what the internal troops are for. Formations with functions like that are by no means a novelty in the world. What is new is that our Soviet ones still operate without a legally established status, without a list of rights and duties, without the appropriate armaments—water cannon, tear gas, rubber bullets.

Some people will shudder at this list of police resources which are generally accepted in the world: Okay, we know, we have read that they have these things "over there," but we always condemned it.

However, you have to face facts: What is happening "over there" is now happening over here too. Or are the army's lead bullets which whistled through the air on the night of 20 January in Baku better than militia bullets, rubber bullets?

Let us once again state the seemingly obvious. All conflict should be resolved within the framework of the law and constitutional rules. That also applies to the deep-rooted original cause of the conflict here—the Karabakh question. (In this matter, let us stress, the central political, legislative, and economic organs must be principled and consistent.) Some forms of solutions are bound to meet with resistance from the authorities, but only by legal, constitutional methods. Maybe we will be accused of cynicism for saying this, but if there is no other solution, then it must be by rubber bullets too.

But that is precisely the point—if there is no other solution. Was that the case in the Baku crisis?

We talked about all this with an elder respected in Azerbaijan—he is a deputy and an eminent specialist in his field.

"I am not a military man," the elder said. "But I am convinced that had the introduction of the troops been organized differently, accidental deaths could have been avoided. Moving the army into a city of 2 million people at night and without warning, in my view, is simply intolerable. And what about the incident with the reservists? Why was it necessary to involve them in this 'invasion,' to worry the inhabitants of Russian oblasts, and to embroil in nighttime operations people who had forgotten how to hold a weapon? I think Moscow's forecasting of events in the Transcaucasus was either incompetent or nonexistent."

"What is the solution?" our interlocutor wondered. "The center should publicly and honestly talk about the mistakes that it made. The new republican leadership must show that the change of leader means radical changes in the style of work—greater proximity to the people, consideration of public opinion, and the democratization of the solution of cadre questions. Every help must be given to the first secretary of the republic Central Committee in elaborating a serious and constructive program. Consolidation—yes, but on sound principles, not a basis of unprincipledness. It is time to get down to economic management but with definite guarantees from the center, firm guarantees.

"Under the old leadership a situation was created in which the republic's interests were ignored," the elder believes. "That promoted the growth of extremism. That is how the dregs rise to the surface."

That interview with this respected deputy should have appeared in our previous report on the Baku crisis. But our interlocutor refused to allow the text to appear in print under his surname. We are quoting his words now but without mentioning his name or title. Not just because the deputy's ideas are worthy of attention but also so that the reader can see that not everyone in Baku now dares to state his position clearly if it differs from the mood prevailing in the city: "I have to live here, it is dangerous to fall out with my own kind..."

Should Matters Be "Rushed" in the Orient?

Let us be blunt: These fears are not groundless. Public opinion is sharply against the center. Baku is one-third paralyzed through strikes, material damage caused by work stoppages in the republic already approaches R500 million. Extremist APF groupings have moved underground. They have hardly been crushed. The flow of weapons returned to the authorities is hardly noticeable—several thousand guns were captured, including automatic weapons and machine guns, but hunting rifles comprise the overwhelming bulk of returned or confiscated weapons...

What are the initial steps taken by the republic's leadership in these conditions?

T. Orudzhev, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, told us:

"The Central Committee and the republic's government are conducting a dialogue with various strata of the population—in labor collectives, with creative people. It is necessary to demolish the 'Chinese Wall' separating the people from the apparatus. If it only had been a matter of just strikes! Events in the night of 20 January prompted protest and anger among the people. The conversation is outspoken, a mixture of everything—fair criticism and groundless accusations alike. The Central Committee Bureau still has no clear-cut program for emerging from the crisis: It is necessary to work things out, not everything can be resolved offhandedly. According to oriental usage, matters should not be "rushed," hotheads should be given time to cool down..."

We are prepared to agree: Pseudoactiveness will not produce anything. But there is a shortage of time! There is a shortage of confidence in the authorities, which relied on nothing but military force in the crisis...

There is a need for nontraditional and unconventional actions. People would like to believe that the renewal at the republic's "summit" is genuine, that they are not witnessing just a palace coup. Will it be possible to achieve this?

We sought an answer to these questions in the executive authority's actions. Energetic steps have been taken during the first week since a new premier, G. Gasanov, came to head the government.

Here is what we were told at the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers:

Measures are being taken to house the refugees from Armenia who were the "strike force" during the January pogroms in Baku. Action programs are being drawn up for immediate implementation, as well as longer-term programs for the next 2-3 years.

The question of assistance to families which suffered irreparable damage during events in the night of 20 January has been solved.

Contacts have been established with worker collectives, including those on strike, in an attempt to convince them that political struggle must be shifted outside the confines of the economy, which has suffered a knockout blow from strikes.

Agreement has been reached with chairmen of rayon agro-industrial associations and leaders of local organs on the principles of maximum autonomy for agro-industrial complex farms and on new forms of operation of the economic mechanism there.

Practical steps are being taken to switch the republic to regional economic accountability and self-financing.

And finally, among the many steps we have not mentioned, there is a draft resolution on informal organizations. It is intended that they be registered not by the republic's government but by the Ministry of Justice, which will monitor their compliance with the country's constitution.

A most important direction in postcrisis efforts is the work done in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] by the republican organizing committee for normalizing the situation in the autonomous oblast and restoring Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] sovereignty there. Members of the organizing committee, headed by V. Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, have been at work in Stepanakert and, during our assignment in Baku, we received reports about painfully difficult, small, but nonetheless real positive moves there.

We would like to end our description of the trends toward emergence from the Baku crisis on an optimistic note. But its manifestations are too acute and its causes are too deep-rooted to allow us to say anything more than this: **We eyewitnesses of the crisis do not lose hope that it might be resolved.**

What Keeps Hope Alive

But first about what causes alarm. Let us turn back to the idea, expressed in our previous report, of the "drift" of people's fronts toward radicalism or rather toward extremism, toward anarchist and aggressive actions. (The catalyst for such actions in Azerbaijan was provided by the NKAO problem, which was used to camouflage the extremists' real goal—to overthrow legitimate power.) The combination of such "methods" of solving society's pressing problems with political movement to the right not only shatters local party-state structures of power, which have yet to cast off bureaucratic edict ossification, but also creates a threat against the socialist choice itself.

It would be dangerous to underestimate this. Because, if we face up to the truth, the people's fronts are leading broad strata of the population, huge masses of people.

But the actual point is that this "drift" is only an apparent phenomenon. Initially—and the APF is an example of this—the "fronts," as permitted informal organizations, offered a "roof" for groups of people who, if the country had had the conditions provided by a multiparty system and guaranteed political pluralism, would have espoused completely different, and possibly even diametrically opposed positions. It is here, deep inside the "fronts," which have proved themselves in practice to be a force in opposition to the ruling party, that the embryos of future political organizations are maturing, covering the span from social-democratic to clerical ones. It is with them that it is necessary to collaborate, as with political partners. As for the right-wing (or left-wing) radicals who are stained with extremism, they represent only a small but maybe the most active part of this political conglomerate, a part which, through its activeness, now seems to be usurping the right to represent the people's front itself in the arena of social life.

The sharp politicization of the people in the course of perestroyka has produced the effect of a steam boiler, where the rigid structures of the political system are unable to withstand the turbulence and high pressure of social life. Had these structures been flexible and had they allowed the existence of a broad spectrum of legislatively constituted political forces, people would not have gotten the occasional impression that extreme radical elements enjoy broad public support. There would have been neither mistakes in forecasting the situation nor rash actions by the authorities based on the belief that only political maneuvering or, on the other hand, only the use of military force can protect democracy, halt interethnic dissension, and put an end to anticonstitutional actions.

As for the hopes for a sensible development of events, we pin them only on the further democratization of society and on strict obedience to dictatorship by the law—on the system of political guidelines formulated in the draft CPSU Central Committee platform for the 28th Party Congress.

Or, to be more precise, on immediate and vigorous compliance with these guidelines. This is what is prompted by the Baku crisis, which remains unabated. And by the social upheavals which, God forbid, we might still have to overcome along the sharp curves of perestroyka.

Armenians 'Hope' for Better Times

PM1802213390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading "Situation in Transcaucasus"]

[Text] Yerevan, 16 Feb—The accord reached on the resumption of two-way traffic along the Baku-Megri-Dzhulfa-Norashen-Yerevan railroad remains just a paper agreement at the moment. Since the beginning of the year more than 25,000 freightcars with various national economic loads have not reached the republic. Neither, of course, is output produced in Armenia being shipped out, output which subcontracting enterprises throughout the country are waiting for.

There is great concern in the republic at restrictions on air communications with regions of Azerbaijan inhabited by an Armenian population.

The surrender of weapons continues in Armenia. Three Makarov pistols, two rifles, two hunting rifles, and one hail suppression gun were recovered yesterday. However, this process could be speeded up considerably if there were an end to the incidents which are occurring in regions on the border with Azerbaijan despite the introduction of a special situation there.

As Armenian Internal Affairs Minister U. Arutyunyan has reported, at 0300 hours yesterday an army post near the Armenian village of Shurnuk in Gorisskiy Rayon came under fire from Kubatlinksiy Rayon in the neighboring republic. One military serviceman was wounded. Such incidents have been occurring every day. To support his contention, U. Arutyunyan cited figures taken from operational summaries. The victims include not just military servicemen but civilians, too.

Nevertheless, in Armenia there is hope that the spring which has begun will also lead to a warming in relations between the two neighboring republics.

'Anti-Army Sentiment' Detailed

PM1802221290 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 p 1

[Interview with Major General Yevgeniy Nechayev, deputy chief of the USSR MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) internal troops political directorate, by correspondent A. Kraynin: "New Details of Events in Baku"]

[Text] [Kraynin] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, as far as we are aware, USSR MVD criminal investigations groups are working in Azerbaijan.

[Nechayev] Yes, indeed, investigators are working intensively. Results have been achieved. It has been confirmed that 12 people of Armenian nationality were taken from the Kyapskiy invalid home in Gyandzha city and murdered. In the plain of the Kura river 40 km northwest of Gyandzha, an investigations group discovered 12 bodies that had been buried. There were 11 women and one man. There were old people among them. I should like to stress in particular that we are dealing with a crime committed by frenzied extremists, perhaps hardened criminals. But they, as you will appreciate, are people of no nationality. I should like to dissociate the Azerbaijani people from them.

On the same day, 14 February, military servicemen of the internal troops and a criminal investigations group discovered a further six corpses close to the village of Adzhikent in Khanlarskiy Rayon. The corpses were mutilated and had been stabbed many times.

[Kraynin] Another question, Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich. Is there any information on the four military servicemen who went missing in January?

[Nechayev] Unfortunately, no. The fate of Captain Sergey Osetrov and Privates Aleksey Prizhimkin, Aleksandr Moroz, and Vyacheslav Fedotov is still unknown. They have been posted missing. A smashed radio set and some empty cartridges were found at the site of their post. The search goes on.

I should like to add that the situation in Baku and the republic as a whole remains tense. Anti-army sentiment persists. Letters containing threats of physical reprisals are being received. Two days ago one such letter (an anonymous one) was received addressed to Lieutenant General V. Dubinyak, commander of Baku. In the city's Narimanovskiy Rayon five youths attacked Sergeant of Internal Troops D. Kozlov, who had fallen behind his detail, and stabbed him. Kozlov did not use his own weapon. So it is still too soon to talk about the stabilization of the situation.

Baku Radio Carries Announcements of Events

Situation in Baku Detailed

NC2002091990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Notice by the Baku City Internal Affairs Administration—read by announcer]

[Text] Eleven criminal incidents occurred in the city during the past day. Seven were related to the theft of personal property, three to the theft of vehicles, and one to the production and sale of narcotics. The Kirov District Internal Affairs Administration arrested (?Dzhabbarov), a resident of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and [words indistinct], and Kuliyev, a resident of Baku with prior convictions, for possession of narcotics. Aydin Aliyev, a resident of Baku who worked as a (?driver) for [words indistinct], was arrested by the (?Argentika) District Internal Affairs Administration for robbing the house of Kuliyeva, who lives at No. 3, Neftchiler Street, (?Andizhan) Town.

Fourty-two individuals were arrested by the military servicemen responsible for implementing the state of emergency. Three individuals were arrested for committing crimes, 11 for violating the USSR Supreme Soviet's decree, two for violating the passport regulations, and 22 for violating the curfew.

Individuals (?continue to engage) in hooliganism and extremist activities. Hooligans attacked military units (?guarding) the [word indistinct] of the Internal Affairs Ministry at 0845 on 17 February 1990. The attackers fired on the troops and [words indistinct], forcing the military units to fire warning shots. A hand-made explosive was detonated in the shoe factory No. 2 at 1000 on 17 February. No one was harmed. The incident is being investigated. The Nizami District Internal Affairs Administration is carrying out an inquiry.

Provocative activities of this kind, perpetrated by the hooligans and the extremists, endanger the life of the citizens, [words indistinct], and create a lack of confidence between the military units and the residents of the city. Furthermore, they obstruct stabilization of the situation in Baku. The residents of the city must [word indistinct] these activities. [Sentence indistinct]

We reiterate that new curfew passes will come into effect as of 0000 on 21 February 1990. The passes will be renewed in all the (?establishments), organizations, and administrations within the military zones in Baku. We urge all the leading officials of the main administrations to complete this procedure so that (?disruption of work) can be avoided.

The Baku City Internal Affairs Administration.

Baku Military Commandant Replaced

NC2002085390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0430 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Notice by the military commandant's administration of Baku City—read by announcer]

[Text] Attention! The military commandant's administration of Baku City informs the citizens that Lieutenant General [first name indistinct] Boris Konstantinov, first deputy chief of the USSR Internal Affairs Administration, will assume the responsibilities of the military commandant of Baku City as of 19 February 1990.

The citizens are reminded once against that new curfew passes will be in effect as of 21 February 1990. The command headquarters in the districts of Baku will renew the curfew passes until 20 February 1990. The leading officials of all the administrations and establishments are reminded to be organized and to have the curfew passes renewed on time so that the work momentum can be maintained.

The Military Commandant's Administration of Baku City.

Bomb Explodes on Shusha-Stapanakert Road

LD1902140690 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0204 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] At 0830 on 19 February a hidden explosive device exploded on the road between Shusha and Stepanakert. Passengers on the Ikarus Reys bus travelling on the road between Shusha and Baku were hurt by the explosion. No one was killed but 15 people received injuries of various degrees. The injured were taken to the hospital where they received emergency medical treatment. An investigative team was created by the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] republican organization committee and the military commandant's office of the state of emergency district. An investigation is underway. The military commandant is taking strict measures to strengthen supervision over the work of motor transport and the situation on the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast roads. A decision was adopted on extending the curfew by two hours.

Yerevan Radio Carries Events in, Around Armenia

Concern Over Weapons Return

NC1802100890 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0700 GMT 18 Feb 90

[Text] At one of the most recent operational staff meetings, the participants expressed grave concern over how fast stolen weapons were being returned. (?In response to the appeals made), unidentified persons returned two Makarov pistols to the Interior Ministry section of Yerepuni airport [passage indistinct]. This is the third time that weapons have been returned there. The previous day, two pistols belonging to the crew members were also returned. Thus, 18 out of 21 stolen pistols have been returned.

However, in no way does this development ease concern over the fact that the whereabouts of a huge quantity of arms, which could end up in criminals' hands, is unknown. The operational staff decided to devote one of its upcoming meetings to this matter.

The situation in the republic is, in general [word indistinct] stable, and businesses are operating normally. According to the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry's records, there were no serious violations of the law yesterday in the republic, though some tension exists because of the incidents taking place in the neighboring republic and due to the arrival of many refugees from Tajikistan.

The Internal Affairs Ministry's military commandant in Stepanakert is still preventing additional incoming flights by deploying armored cars on the airstrip.

Armenians Adopt Decision on Blockade

NC1702143490 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper publishes on its front page the decision adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Armenia on the blockade of the republic. The decision states:

First, to propose to the USSR Supreme Soviet that it firmly condemn Azerbaijan's blockade of Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], give a principled political evaluation to this phenomenon, and take extraordinary measures to ensure the urgent implementation of its own decisions on the lifting of the blockade of Armenia and the NKAO.

Second, to propose to the USSR Council of Ministers that compensation be paid from the budget of Soviet Azerbaijan for the losses inflicted on the economy of Soviet Armenia by the blockade.

Third, to appeal to the USSR procurator general to bring to strict account those people who organize and implement the blockade against Soviet Armenia.

1921 Decision on NKAO 'Illegal'

NC1702101290 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] On its second page the paper has published the decision of the republic's Supreme Soviet declaring the 5 July 1921 decision of the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, Bolsheviks, illegal.

In particular, the decision states: The republic's Supreme Soviet considers the Caucasian Bureau's 5 July 1921 decision, as a result of which the right to self-determination of the Armenians of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast was violated and a part of the territory of Soviet Armenia was (?inhumanly annexed) [words indistinct], as being beyond the jurisdiction of the bureau, incompatible with international law, and illegal.

More on Armenian Presidium Changes

NC1702095190 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper has published the decisions of the republic's Supreme Soviet on the election of Rafayel Kazaryan as deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Khrachik Simonyan, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, and Robert Kocharyan as members of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The paper has also published the decisions relieving Kurbanov of his post of deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidum, and Iskandaryan, Khachatryan, and Timin of their membership of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium.

'Agitators' Continue in NKAO

NC1602171590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Our colleague Vrej Sarukhanyan just returned from Stepanakert. Here is his report:

[Begin recording] [Sarukhanyan] After soldiers armed with automatic weapons inspect the passengers at the airport, they allow the passengers to approach the next line of inspectors. Those who leave Stepanakert for Yerevan somehow suppress their rage as they pass through four or five inspection groups of obstinate soldiers who do not choose to listen to anything, and approach the helicopter.

The armored cars, troop units, and army vehicles patrol the Stepanakert streets every minute. Army guards are at the entrance and inside the important buildings and they behave any way they want. Are there more unwritten than written laws for them to follow?

Grant Melkumyan, second secretary of city party committee, talks about the situation in Stepanakert.

[Melkumyan] Certain organizations and enterprises stopped work to protest the presence of the so-called Organizing Committee in Stepanakert. For the last three weeks only those factories and enterprises needed to sustain life are operating.

The situation in our oblast is critical. It is impossible to relay our just demand to those people at the top because the Organizing Committee, using the army contingent in the oblast, is attempting to force the people of Karabkh to their knees any way they can. The (?loudspeakers on top of the cars) disseminate false rumors to the people every day, hoping there are individuals who will believe them and submit to the so-called Organizing Committee set up by Azerbaijan and to its decisions.

[Sarukhanyan] Yes, soldiers, army vehicles, and armored cars are everywhere in the city. They move about constantly in an attempt to frighten and terrorize the people. But the people of Karabakh are used to such things. Among these vehicles, both during the day and at night, armored cars mounted with loudspeakers, frequently appear in an attempt to agitate the people. And what are the agitators' saying from their armored cars? They are lauding the emissars and Organizing Committee who have come from Azerbaijan, alleging that to listen to the Organizing Committee would not only lead to the solution to the problem but would also be the embodiment of benevolence and welfare. Usually, under the conditions of restructuring and economic accountability, advertisements are paid for. How much are the Azerbaijanis paying for this advertisement?

[Melkumyan] Today, the situation in the city is such that because there is no yeast we might not have bread tomorrow. We appealed to the comrades from Moscow to give us a helicopter to bring yeast from Tblisi. They refused so that we would be forced to buy the yeast from Agdam town in neighboring Azerbaijan. We explained that all of our funds are in Tblisi, so we have to buy from there. Thus, it is uncertain if we will have bread tomorrow. Moreover, the Organizing Committee has used every way they can to degrade the oblast's leaders and people's deputies. For example, they declared on the radio—you probably know that the radio is under the control of the army—that USSR People's Deputies Zori Balayan, Vachakan Grigoryan, and Boris Dadamyan; Valeri Atadzhanyan, first secretary of Stepanakert party city committee; and Maksim Mirzoyan, chairman of the Stepanakert city soviet Executive Committee are to blame for stirring up interethnic conflicts. This claim is totally incompatible with reality. Certain people are attempting to drive a wedge between the people and its leaders.

[Sarukhanyan] It is not even worth mentioning how realistic this approach is. However, in order to reveal the nature of the pseudo-democracy of the military commandant of the emergency situation and of the Organizing Committee, let us mention that the propagandists of the restructuring, armed soldiers wearing shields approach the [word indistinct] groups gathered at the stations and in the streets and disperse them with warnings of undesirable consequences if they do not.

Also, the Agdam-Stepanakert railroad from Stepanakert to the airport and not far from the army encampment has been bombed at night. Here again is Grant Melkumyan:

[Melkumyan] Lately, the central television and anonymous articles appearing in the USSR news media claim that all roads in the oblast are no longer blockaded, that people are working normally, and there is no [word indistinct]. This is a very distorted picture. Only the roads between Azerbaijani villages and other areas have been opened. The Armenian settlements are still under blockade. For the last two years not a single vehicle has arrived in Stepanakert from Goris. Moreover, they are attempting to do what they have not been able to do for the last 70 years. Taking advantage of the enormous number of troops, the Azerbaijani leadership is doing everything to eliminate Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. A few days ago they were massacring Armenians in Baku. Naturally, they want to reduce the Armenian population in NKAO. The [word indistinct] of the Azerbaijan People's Front are utilizing another tactic now: They want to eliminate Armenians from the NKAO and then unite it with southern and northern Azerbaijan. They brag about having a population of 35 million.

I hope the higher authorities will evaluate properly these people's far-reaching plans. It is not that the NKAO problem is being solved here on the spot; rather they [the Soviet leadership] are selling out NKAO to Azerbaijan to dissuade the latter from leaving the USSR structure. As such the blockade of NKAO did not come to an end. Rather, all Azerbaijani villages are undertaking active construction work. According to preliminary figures, during the two years since the beginning of the NKAO movement, nearly 20,000 Azerbaijanis have returned to our oblast, and even Mesketyan Turks have appeared. After the Fergana incidents they were taken out of Uzbekistan. They even appeared on the illegal Shusha television and said that they have come to their own native land—this land.

This policy cannot continue for long and will eventually receive its political evaluation.

[Sarukhanyan] Comrade Melkumyan, exactly two years ago today the first meeting of the congress took place in Stepanakert, NKAO. Its second anniversary is over. Has the situation changed in any way?

[Melkumyan] I think that two years ago the situation in the oblast was better. Two years ago Konovalov, former second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee pursued a policy from the position of strength. Now Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee is pursuing the same policy. The difference in their policies is minimal, but Konovalov had no troops here. Polyanichko does have troops here; his power is more formidable.

[Sarukhanyan] KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH newspaper does not appear. Television is not operating. The radio is controlled by the Political Department of the military commandant and disseminates only their schemes and warnings. We talk about this in detail in our next broadcasts. This harsh regime and censorship could be compared to immoral pincers: Azerbaijan is squeezing from one side and Moscow is squeezing from the other. However, it often happens that instead of the pincers being able to crush something, they themselves break under the pressure. Yes, today we must solidify more than ever so that we can shatter the pncers that have weakened from squeezing. [end recording]

Shootings Continue on Azeri-Armenian Borders

NC1802131890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The republic's operational staff informed our correspondent that a military guard post near the (?Shirmut) village in Gorisskiy rayon came under fire from Azerbaijan's Kubatlinskiy rayon. One soldier was wounded. The operational staff stated that no day goes by without the Azeri gunmen engaging in provocative acts on the borders against the population and army units serving there. Such attacks have resulted in casualties.

Goris-Lachin-Getashen road, which is essential for sending provisions to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and the Armenian villages in Azerbaijan, is still inoperative, and air transport is the only link. However, even that is not satisfactory now, because the helicopter flights to Stepanakert have been limited to four a day. As was already reported, by an arbitrary decision of the local army commandant, armored cars have been deployed on the airstrip to prevent unscheduled helicopter landings. By a similar arbitrary decision of the local army commandant, various hurdles are being created in helicopter transport of freight and passengers.

The telephone link with Stepanakert is working, and radios are being used to communicate with those areas of Azerbaijan where there is a concentrated Armenian population.

NKAO Media Plan Paper, Radio, TV Boycott

NC1602212890 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 15 Feb 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The press has published the joint statement by the editors of KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH—SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, the television and radio broadcast committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], and the NKAO journalists union organization. It is addressed to the military commandant of the state of emergency district.

The 31 January order of Safonov, commandant of the state of emergency district, decreed that the editor and board of SOVETSKIY KARABAKH newspaper were to be placed under the jurisdiction of the state of emergency district comandant and the chief of the political department of the commandant's office. The decree said the paper should be published only in Stepanakert and distributed only within the NKAO and that it is prohibited to take copies of it out of the oblast.

The army censorship and the political department have also paralyzed the operations of the oblast's radio and television.

Today martial law is being introduced in NKAO, not a state of emergency. The civil authority in the oblast has been completely taken over by the military commandant, despite the fact that neither the 15 January decree nor the Constitution gives the military commandant a civil mandate. Using brute force, the soldiers are attempting to suppress the expression of the will of the Armenian population of NKAO, to disrupt the explanation of this will in the mass media, and to forcibly impose the unacceptable and unrealizable decision on the people of Artsakh. This decision puts the oblast in subjection to that republic where the blood of the Armenian and now, the Russian-speaking population, is being shed each day.

These days, basic human rights are being violated in the NKAO. The intention to forcibly suppress the expression of the will of an entire people is glaringly obvious. The operations of the oblast's mass media are being intentionally disrupted. As a sign of protest, in three days, on 12 February, we will not publish KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH, although we will continue preparing its material. Also, we will not broadcast on the oblast's radio and television. We demand that conditions be created within the framework of the 15 January decree so that the NKAO's mass media can function normally.

20,000 Yerevan Demonstrators Call for Referendum

AU1902121390 Paris AFP in English 1146 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb 19 (AFP)—Some 20,000 Armenians held a demonstration in Yerevan Sunday to demand a referendum on self- determination for their republic, a nationalist leader said Monday.

The demonstration was held on the anniversary of a 1921 revolution which saw nationalists overthrow Soviet power and set up a government which lasted three months.

Levon Ter-Petrosian, a leader of the Armenian National Movement who has just been elected to the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, said the demonstration was called by a number of small nationalist groups. His own movement did not favour a referendum on self-determination, he added.

Speaking by telephone from Yerevan, he also said that Armenian deputies taking part Monday in a closed-door session of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow were to demand the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan to Armenia.

Both republics have come close to civil war over the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, a mostly-Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan.

The Armenian Supreme Soviet (parliament) has just declared null and void Moscow's decision to give the territory to Azerbaijan in 1921.

Last December, the Armenian Supreme Soviet unanimously voted for the creation of an "united Armenian republic" which includes Nagorno-Karabakh.

The authorities in Azerbaijan, followed by those in Moscow, have declared the move unconstitutional.

More on Referendum for Independence

LD1902220590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpt] In Yerevan, it has been demanded at a several thousands-strong mass demonstration that a referendum be called on the proclamation of Armenia's independence. MTI's correspondent in Moscow has been informed of this on the telephone by one of the leaders of the Armenian national movement. [passage omitted]

Azerbaijanis Condemn Muslim Deaths in Dushanbe

LD1702210690 Tehran in English to Europe 1930 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Following unrest in the Soviet republic of Tajikistan, the Muslim people of Soviet Azerbaijan (?gathered) on the banks of the Aras River. [passage indistinct] Yesterday afternoon, the Soviet border dwellers gathered in Jolfa, Ordobad and (?Azer) regions of the banks of the Aras River and condemned killing of Muslims in Dushanbe city by chanting slogans.

The demonstrators on the Aras River banks also criticized the Baku television station in relation to distorted news reports and announced: The Baku television station is being fully controlled by the military and government forces.

Another report indicates that the Baku television station (?this) Thursday showed pictures of the Azerbaijan martyrs in Baku's martyrs' park while people arrived in the park to pay tribute to them and to (?offer) flowers on their gravesides.

Regional Affairs

Estonian Press Outlets Detailed

LD1702073790 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] Tallinn February 17 TASS—By ETA correspondent Ruta Pels:

Official, public, departmental, cooperative and independent newspapers, magazines, newsletters, bulletins and brochures are part of the array of publications currently put out in Estonia.

Estonia has long been at the forefront of reading republics in the Soviet Union—its average annual per capita new book consumption is 11. There are more than 30 magazines and 70 bulletins.

Of the fifty-odd newspapers regularly published in Estonia, 10 are republican. Of these, the newspapers published by the Estonian Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers have for many years topped the list—RAHVA HAAL is printed in Estonian and Sovetskaya Estonia in Russian. The 8-page newspaper appears six times a week.

The policy of glasnost, the growth of mass public movements and the revival of a multi-party system have engendered unofficial publications in addition to the traditional official ones.

Each and every movement, party, and society start with the publication of their programmes and rules, followed by the publication of their own bulletins. The Estonian Popular Front puts out VABA MAA and the Herald of the Popular Front of Estonia. The Russian Social-Democratic Party of Estonia has started to published RESPUBLIKA. TRIBUNA has proclaimed its independence and supports the National Independence Party. The Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments has its own press, so do the United Council of Estonia's Work Collectives and the Intermovement.

Ethnic cultural societies—members of the association of ethnic minorities residing in Estonia—have launched several newspapers, including the Jewish HASCHAHAR in Russian and Estonian and GRUENWALD in Belorussian.

The popular independent all-colour 16-page EESTI EXPRESS weekly is published by a joint Estonian-Finnish firm, and the BUDNY commercial newspaper is a joint Estonian-Swedish production.

Every sizable enterprise and each organisation considers it a matter of necessity to publish a newspaper of its own. Some departmental newssheets—including NORMA, VAZAR, KALININETS and AVTOBUS—have won a following outside their work collectives because of their coverage of their collectives' public life and responses to democratic changes in the republic, in addition to the coverage of production activity.

Cooperative publications usually pursue commercial goals. They are filled with advertisements, dating services, culinary recipes, oriental medicine, horoscopes and fortune-telling. This year's growth in circulation is convincing proof of their popularity inside and outside the republic.

The official national news agencies TASS and APN are beginning to feel the competition: Their unofficial rivals have efficient networks that supply pictures and texts not only to the Estonian but also the national and international press.

"The diversity of periodical publications directly reflects the variety of opinions in the republic," says Gennadiy Rozenstein, director of the Estonian Journalists Union's small enterprise that issues estpress digest twice every month. "The process of democratisation and decentralisation enables societies, parties and movements to identify themselves. This tendency, I believe, will develop for some time and give rise to a new variety of publications."

Latvian Supreme Soviet Discusses Army Service

LD1602201790 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Riga February 16 TASS—Latvian Parlianent today discussed the bill on alternative (labour) service. According to this bill, citizens of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], who are unable to serve in the armed forces for pacifist or religious reasons, are obliged to do their alternative (labour) duty. This provision is already endorsed by the republican Constitution. After fiery debate the bills on alternative service and related amendments and additions to a number of regulatory enactments were approved in the first reading.

The session instructed the Latvian Supreme Presidium to address a request to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to speed up the consideration of matters relating to the establishment of republican formations of Soviet Armed Forces and the reorganisation of the Army on a professional basis.

The second day in the session's work came to end, leaving many issues unresolved. It was decided to resume the work of the last session in two weeks so as not to burden the newly-elected Supreme Soviet with this "heritage."

Gorbunov on Latvian Supreme Soviet Session

Moscow TV Report

LD1602203290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Kasyanova video report from Riga, including interview with A.V. Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The 15th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has ended in Riga. This was the last session of the 11th convocation.

[Begin Gorbunov recording] The deputies have endorsed the main principle which is at the basis for the CPSU platform for the Congress, that is to say, that our further relations are to develop on the basis of contractual relations and in the economy on a equivalent exchange. And I can say with satisfaction that the most important thing is to start such a good dialogue, conversation, and here, there must not be any contradictions in the sense of opposing one social group to another. These are the main issues that occupied our session. [end recording]

[Kasyanova] Passing through heated debates, the session adopted a declaration on the state independence of Latvia. Henceforth, the ancient national coat of arms, the flag and anthem of Latvia, will become state symbols.

The session endorsed the oath of the Republic's judges and people's assessors.

The deputies again returned to the question of the Sloka pulp and paper combine, whose closure all but gave rise to a paper crisis in the repubic. [Video shows shots of the Supreme Soviet in session, interview with Gorbunov, captioned as A.V. Gorbunov, in the assembly hall, while session is not in progress]

Moscow International Report

LD1702235990 Moscow World Service in English
1810 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] In Riga, the 15th and last session of Latvia's 11th Supreme Soviet has come to an end. Radio Moscow's correspondent in Latvia, Niman Mishkun reports:

[Mishkun] A new Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR will be elected on 18 March. The just ended session of Latvia's Parliament has considered a number of vital bills and resolutions. How does the chairman of the Presidium of Latvia's Supreme Soviet, Anatoliy Gorbunov, see the results of the current session?

[Begin Gorbunov recording in Russian with superimposed translation in English] Our mandate is over and we are thinking more about those whose mandates have just begun, the local governments. For that reason, we are all satisfied that the law on local self-government has been passed. Local soviets need independence and responsibility more than ever before. Secondly, many in the country have been discussing our statehood. What should our nation be like? This has a direct bearing on the individual republics. I believe that our deputies have confirmed the basic principle contained in the Communist Party's platform made public in the run-up to the 28th Party Congress. In the future, our relations must be based on a new treaty and the economy on fair exchanges. On the other hand, everybody is interested in expanding these ties, and on the other in the development of their republics as sovereign states.

The question of the Army is very important. It might seem that this is a purely national issue. However, this confirms once again that everything that concerns the Soviet Union concerns the republics, too, and the other way round. We have had the first reading of alternative labor service and those problems that have emerged in connection with the distribution of housing among officers about to retire. Our session focused on these major issues.

After heated debate, the session adopted a declaration of Latvia's state sovereignty. From now on, Latvia will have as its state symbols its ancient national emblem, the red-white-red flag, and anthem. I believe that reasonable compromise solutions in a difficult situation have been found. The republic has entered into a parliamentary election campaign. Its outcome will be decided on 18 March. [end recording]

Inter-Front's Lopatin Rejects Latvian Independence

LD1602224190 Riga Domestic Service in Russian
1637 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Speech by Inter-Front leader Lopatin at the 15 February Latvian Supreme Soviet Session in Riga—live]

[Excerpts] [introductory passage omitted] Speaking of the adoption of the decision on returning the state symbols of bourgeois Latvia, and the declaration of state independence of Latvia, secretly stolen [as heard] so to speak, at the session, alongside the adoption earlier of a number of laws discriminating against a considerable section of the population of the republic, these are consistent steps along the road of political official revenge in favor of the forces deprived of political and economic power in 1940. [passage omitted]

Today you have acted the part of the representatives of those bourgeois parties of the twenties. Referring to the fact that in 1940 the people of Latvia were not asked to decide on rejoining the Soviet Union, today also without asking the opinion of the people, you have taken a decision of a similar kind, to please the new ruling class which burst through in our republic, the creative and scientific intelligentsia of the leading clique of the Popular Front of Latvia. You have blatantly trampled on the views of those in the republic who do not agree with what has been proposed and the decisions adopted today. You have deliberately made a split in our society, and let this be on the conscience of those who today voted in favor of that split. I think that we will not have long to wait for a reaction to such decisions. [one or two persons clap, drowned by boos; chairman addresses session in Latvian, then invites Lopatin to continue]

As has already been said here, the Internationalist Front [inter-frunt] categorically rejects both these decisions, as objectively aimed at undermining perestroyka, about which we have all, in my view, long ago forgotten. As for the symbols which you rejected today, as has already been said, the Internationalist Front will declare them to be their official symbols, and we promise you that they will be kept safe in our hands. As a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and a communist who has devoted his entire adult life to defending the interests of the peoples of the USSR, I cannot take any further part in the work of the session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic to which I was invited, because I presume that that its activity in the final analysis is aimed at the disintegration of our union and at things getting worse every day in our republic. [Chairman of session in Russian tells Lopatin: I categorically protest against the fact that you are addressing the deputies in this manner]

Latvian Rural Youth League Established

PM2002114990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 90 p 1

[T. Borisov report: "Peasants? They Are a Force!"]

[Text] The rural youth of Latvia have decided to join together in their own organization. An organizational session of the Rural Youth League was held 14 February to adopt statutes and a program and set the date of its founding congress—7 April.

"Our organization is social rather than political," said Yu. Margelich, one of the league's leaders and first secretary of Rizhskiy Latvian Komsomol [Lenin Communist Youth League] Rayon Committee. "Young people's leisure, sport, and education represent the sphere of our interests. Our aim is to help produce hardworking, cultured, well-educated people, to develop young people's initiative, and to support the research efforts of young inventors. The sole political item figuring in our program is the achievement of Latvian independence. Independence does not mean obligatory separation."

Any person up to 35, including All-Union Komsomol members, may be a member of the Rural Youth League. The Rural Youth League has already won support and authority in the republic. The Latvian Agricultural Workers' Union has become its sponsor.

The organization of stores selling environmentally safe products is one of the new youth league's first tasks.

Latvian Newspapers Report Affiliation Changes

18004000 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Resolution of the Latvian CP (Communist Party) Central Committee 18th Plenum on Changing the Status of the Republic Newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA]

[Text] The republic newspapers CINA (founded in 1904) and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA (founded in 1919), organs of the Latvian CP Central Committee, the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, were created and have functioned for a long time as the official press organs of the Latvian Communist Party.

Under conditions of political reform, deepening democratization and glasnost in all spheres of public life it has become necessary to differentiate the functions of party and state organs, press publications among them.

The Latvian CP Central Committee Plenum **resolves**:

To re-establish the status of the newspapers CINA and SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA as organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia.

Live Relay of Lithuanian Plenum 19 Feb

LD1902180290

[Editorial report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1400 GMT on 19 February begins carrying a live relay of a Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum in Vilnius.

At 1400 GMT Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee, who is chairing the session, opens the plenum stating that it is attended by 143 Central Committee members out of the total number of 176. The main item on the agenda will be the political situation in Lithuania and in the Lithuanian Communist Party. This will be followed by another three items: confirmation of the Lithuanian Communist Party commissions; confirmation of Lithuanian Communist Party instructions; and reorganization of the magazine KOMUNISTAS. The agenda is adopted. Then the chairmanship of the plenum is taken over by Second Secretary Beriozovas.

At 1405 GMT, Brazauskas begins his report as follows:

"Dear like-minded people: Only two months have elapsed since the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. This brief period of time was marked with events which have brought to our life not only novelties but also ever-increasing attempts to destabilize the political situation in the republic. No doubt, this is influenced by the coming elections, by statements and actions during the preelection campaign. One of the most vivid moments in this campaign is the striving of some political forces and individuals to make use of anticommunist ideas and attack the independent Lithuanian Communist Party."

"In this campaign, they forget or distort what has been accomplished by Lithuania's communists in recent years. Only a very stubborn and ill-disposed person can assert that the Lithuanian Communist party today is the same as it has been for many decades. We communists understand that we are under pressure from the Lithuanian Communist Party's past errors and crimes, which we have publicly acknowledged and from which we have dissociated ourselves unambiguously. Being encouraged by the forces of regeneration and having stated as our main aim the creation of a democratic and independent Lithuania, we are consistently advancing along this path.... The independent Lithuanian Communist Party proved at its 20th congress its determination to go together with the nation and with the absolute majority of Lithuania's people."

After praising the Lithuanian Sajudis' work and criticizing the CPSU platform, Brazauskas continues: "Today it is essential to state once again, clearly and unambiguously, that, in spite of accusations and attempts to discredit the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, it is firmly adhering to the positions of the 20th congress."

"We are glad at the fact that Lithuania's intellectuals, its creative intelligentsia remain with the Lithuanian Communist Party at this time of difficult decision—and not only remain. Scores of new people, known and respected in the republic, are joining it. The workers and peasants are showing increasing support for us. Today, the independent Lithuanian Communist Party has over 80,000 firmly determined communists."

"In our opinion, this advance must be supported not by destruction and confrontation, but by constructive work. This is our aim. This state of affairs provokes anxiety among many Lithuanian people. They are ever-more afraid of the growing manifestations of neobolshevism in our life. These are expressed also by political assessments without any compromise, not recognizing any doubts, demanding unconditional obedience, proposing a delay in the introduction of democratic norms. Thus, in spite of their pleasant words, we see once again the wish to reproduce bolshevism with new conditions—to go from one sacred truth, from one infallibity, over to another such sacred truth and to the glorification of prophets who proclaim them."

"History demonstrates that only those nations which are united flourish and are happy. Unity will be essential to us today in striving for the aims which will decide Lithuania's fate."

"Today the great majority of the republic's political forces, except the CPSU Lithuanian organization and Yedinstvo, support the restoration of Lithuania's statehood. It is true, the practical path toward the restoration of Lithuania's statehood is imagined differently by individual parties and movements. It is natural in the multiparty system. The republic's parliament will, no doubt, plot the optimal path toward independence. The Lithuanian Communist Party is for the constitutional, parliamentary way."

Brazauskas continues: "Having adopted the 7 February Supreme Soviet decision on eliminating the consequences of the 1939 Soviet-German treaties in Lithuania, we consider it necessary to start, in the nearest future, negotiations between the USSR and Lithuania. The aim of these negotiations must be the establishment of permanent neutrality, the legalization of mutually advantageous trade relations, borders, customs and tariffs, and foreign relations. And this must be understood not as an expression of seperatism or a revision of the borders, but as the restoration of legal statehood.

"Let me assure you once again that, having regenerated together with the whole of Lithuania, our party, making use of all its opportunities, its whole intellectual potential and political foresight, will strive for Lithuania's freedom, progress, and well-being.

"In the name of Lithuania's independence, in the name of the well-being of its people, we must also in the future maintain our dignity, constructiveness, and positiveness. Therein lies our party's strength, the prospect of a political future and, lastly, the guarantee of the real gains of its work for the benefit of the Lithuanian people."

Brazauskas concludes his speech at 1434 GMT.

At 1538 GMT it is announced that the party is receiving many letters supporting its aims. Letters to this effect from Kazakhstan, Karaganda, Moscow, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, Kaliningrad, and Khabarovsk are quoted.

At 1546 GMT a 20-minute interval is announced.

Party Adopts Resolution on Independence

LD1902212290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Vilnius, 19 Feb (TASS)—TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila reports:

"The Lithuanian Communist Party considers its main aim the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state and the ensurance of its international recognition," says a statement adopted at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held here today.

It stresses that the overall aim—"restoration of an independent Lithuanian state"—should be achieved "by parliamentary constitutional means." It also says that "official talks must be started in the near future between the USSR and Lithuania with the aim of establishing stable international ties and economic cooperation between the USSR and Lithuania."

As is well known, two months ago, at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress a declaration was adopted by a majority vote on the independence of the party and on its relations with the CPSU, and the communist parties of other republics and countries as equal partners. These decisions were discussed at the beginning of February this year at a CPSU Central Committee plenum, where they were assessed as "an organizational and political rift with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" and condemned "because they undermine CPSU unity and inflict great damage on the processes of renewing the Soviet federation, and on society as a whole."

But the participants in today's Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum expressed an aspiration to continue to proceed along their chosen path. Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuania Communist Party Central Committee, who delivered a report, said that "many of the ideas and proposals which were discussed at the 20th Lithuania Communist Party Congress and formulated in its program and provisions have been reflected in the new CPSU platform for the 28th party congress."

Communist Party Calls for Independence

LD2002113190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0930 GMT 20 Feb 90

[from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the independent Communist Party of Lithuania has taken place in Vilnius. It began work by discussing the political situation in the republic and the work of the Communist Party of Lithuania. A report was delivered by Brazauskas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Lithuania's Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. A statement was adopted calling on all Lithuanian communists and all honest and strong people to rally round in order to attain their common goal, the restoration of an independent Lithuanian state by constitutional and parliamentary means, and international recognition of it.

It follows from the document that the Communist Party of Lithuania advocates the opening in the very near future of official talks between the USSR and Lithuania to establish stable political relations and economic cooperation.

The plenum confirmed the composition of the commission of the Communist Party of Lithuania's Central Committee and the Communist Party of Lithuania's instructions.

The decision was taken to change KOMUNISTAS, the republican theoretical and political magazine of the Communist Party of Lithuania's Central Committee, into a sociopolitical magazine with the name POLITIKA.

Republican radio broadcast a direct relay on the work of the plenum.

IZVESTIYA Reports on Plenum

PM2002164790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Correspondent Leonid Kapelyushnyy: "Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Vilnius—The chief item submitted for discussion was the political situation in Lithuania and the place and role of the Communist Party in it.

Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee, delivered the report at the plenum.

Exactly two months have elapsed since the extraordinary 20th congress proclaimed the Lithuanian Communist Party independent. That unprecedented decision elicited a steep wave of public euphoria, and sociologists maintained that the party's rating had risen above that of "Sajudis." But how is the party today?

The main speaker pointed out that the past months have been marked by events aimed at destabilizing the situation in the republic. Attacks on the Communist Party "from left and right" have been stepped up. It is being accused of trying to "deceive the people" and of other sins.

In the report much was said of the need to consolidate forces, of unjust attacks, and of incorrect outbursts against communists during the election campaign. But at the same time the main speaker carefully avoided specifically naming the offenders, leaving it up to the public itself to calculate who is attacking from the left and who from the right. Not that this is a great mystery to the republic's inhabitants. Just as it is no secret that the left-wingers, i.e. the Lithuanian Communist Party on the CPSU platform, pose no great danger to the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, for their criticism and insults only enhance the prestige of the independents. "Sajudis" is another matter. While actively supporting the Communist Party on the thorny path toward self-determination from the CPSU, it took up a clear confrontational position at the height of the election campaign. Friendship is one thing, but seats are a separate matter....

To judge from articles in the local press, appeals not to support the communists in the elections perplexed the "statistically average" Lithuanian, who certainly does not sympathize with the Communist Party. For the leaders of "Sajudis" are sufficiently represented on the Central Committee and the Bureau.

"Some people in 'Sajudis' still associate Lithuania's Communists with GULAG jailers, with the activists of forced collectivization, and with other scoundrels. "But come to your senses, my dears. There is a tremendous difference between what you want to see and what you see...." [quotation marks as published]—This is a quotation from an article with the eloquent title "Is a Party of Saints Possible?" carried in the newspaper LIETUVOS RITAS....

The sympathies of Lithuanians which the Lithuanian Communist Party has received for its words must now be justified with deeds. Having renounced its constitutional privileges, the republic's Communist Party is not renouncing responsibility for the republic's fate and has been forced to tackle economic problems. Of course, it can extricate Lithuania from the ever-deepening crisis only by first securing the population's trust and authority. It is impossible not to hear concern in the words of A. Brazauskas, who said: They are demanding that we quit the political arena, and it is no very great difficulty to quit. But who will take our place?

Proposals were heard at the plenum which previously had been expressed hypothetically: That, following the cardinal reform of the party, the name communist is no longer fitting. The muddle over the two Communist Parties in one republic will evidently not continue for long....

From news items worthy of attention—a proposal on the need for talks as soon as possible between Lithuania and the USSR as states with equal rights, on the establishment of treaty relations in accordance with the terms of the 1920 treaty between Russia and Lithuania.

Lithuania Marks Independence; Gives up Draft Cards

PM2002105990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 90 First Edition p 1

[Special correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Yermolin report: "Lithuania: Under the Flag of Independence?"]

[Text] Vilnius, 17 Feb—On 16 February Lithuania celebrated the Day of the Restoration of the Lithuanian State. This holiday was legitimated in the republic's political calendar by a recent decision of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Precisely 72 years ago the Lithuanian Tariba (Council) proclaimed the independence of Lithuania.

To mark the solemn date a meeting of the republic's public was held at which A. Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, delivered the report.

A thousands-strong column of city residents marched through the streets of Vilnius in the evening of 16 February beneath slogans calling for independence. A divine service was held in one of the cathedrals, and then wreaths were laid at the building in which the historic document was proclaimed in 1918.

Unfortunately, the anti-Army and anticommunist actions that have recently characterized public life in the republic were not absent. A column of young people marched along the city's central street, chanting: "Occupiers out of Lithuania!" "Red Army out!" and "Communists and Bolsheviks, get out."

Next to the republic Supreme Soviet building the "Lithuania Freedom League," "Young Lithuania," the scouts' youth organization, and a number of other movements held an act of surrender of draft registration slips and military service cards. More than 1,000 of these documents were surrendered in Vilnius. According to E. Krishchunas, one of the initiators of the action, the collected documents will be sent to the USSR Ministry of Defense. According to reports received, a similar action was held in Kaunas. More than 2,000 documents were surrendered there.

One of the young people, who gave his name as Ayvar Bachulis, said that he made the decision to return his military service card to the Defense Ministry after the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet announced in its resolution the juridical groundlessness of the presence of the USSR Armed Forces on the republic's territory.

Lithuanian Independence Union Holds Conference

LD1802215790 Vilnius in English to North America 2300 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpts] A conference of the Lithuanian Independence Union was held today in Vilnius. The main goal of the Union is to re-establish an independent Lithuanian state with a constitution adopted in 1938, that is in prewar independent Lithuania. The Independence Union unites six political parties and organizations, including the Lithuanian Liberty League, the Union of Christian Democrats, the Democrats Party, the committee for Helping Political Prisoners, the Lithuanian Helsinki Group and Young Lithuania, which is a youth organization. The main report was delivered by Antanas Terlackas, leader of the Lithuanian Liberty League.

Political gullibility is disastrous to Lithuania, said Antanas Terlackas, criticizing those who believe wholeheartedly either in the Lithuanian Communist Party or the grass-roots movement Sajudis. According to Mr. Terlackas, Lithuania is near an abyss even deeper than in 1939. If people continue to trust the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party they might take the one last step towards joining Lithuania with the Soviet Union for the second, and perhaps the last, time. Mr. Antanas Terlackas criticized Sajudis for breathing life into the Lithuanian Communist Party. He also blamed the Lithuanian press that is controlled by the communists and the Sajudis exclusively. Opponents are usually not pubished. Sajudis has ceased to be a progressive movement and this should be said aloud. This statement was reiterated throughout the conference.

The Lithuanian Independence Union has adopted a declaration stating that it seeks political power by parliamentary and peaceful means only. One of the indispensable conditions for recreating the Lithuanian statehood, according to the Lithuanian Independence Union, is the withdrawal of the occupationist army. Only then will Lithuania be able to hold free and democratic elections to the Lithuanian Seimas, that is, the Lithuanian parliament, under the supervision of the United Nations. [passage omitted]

The conference of the Independence Union ended its work by adopting a resolution on the colonization of the occupied Lithuania.

Views 'Colonization'

LD1902141990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Summary] A conference of the Independence Union was held on 17 February in Vilnius. The union consists of opposition political parties, organizations, and movements: the Lithuanian Freedom League, the Lithuanian Nationalist Youth Union, the committee assisting political prisoners, the Lithuanian Helsinki group, and the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union.

Lithuanian Freedom League representative Antanas Terleckas read a program political report at the conference on the political situation in Lithuania. He criticized both the Lithuanian Communist Party and Sajudis. The conference adopted a resolution on Lithuania's colonization. It says that after the war large numbers of the Soviet Union's inhabitants were moved to Lithuania to russify it. They were moved in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention which forbids the occupying state to move into the occupied territory its colonists. In order to defend the rights of the Lithuanian people to their historical ethnographic territory, the resolution demands that Lithuania's colonization be stopped immediately, and that the colonists and their descendants be urged to return to their homelands.

Course of Lithuanian Election Campaign Eyed

PM1602145190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 90 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Matulyavichyus report under the "Toward the Election" rubric: "Crucial Phase Lies Ahead"]

[Text] Vilnius—The election campaign in Lithuania has entered a crucial stage. Nomination and registration of candidate deputies for the republic's Supreme Soviet ended recently, the press has published the list of candidates, and they have begun to meet voters. What was different about this nomination of candidates and what are its characteristic features?

I was told by Vatslovas Litvinas, deputy chairman of the republic's electoral commission, that a total of 657 Lithuanian Supreme Soviet candidate deputies were nominated and 522 were registered. A substantial divergence between these figures, as we can see. It occurred because Article 31 of the Law on Elections of Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Deputies, which defines the procedure for nominating candidate deputies, was violated in a number of cases and district commissions deemed it impossible to register them. These decisions were often adopted as as result of protests from the voters themselves, who now react particularly keenly to any breaches of legality. The most widespread violation is the late provision of information about election events, of which the public should be informed at least two days in advance.

The demand requiring candidates to be nominated in their place of residence and at labor collectives in the presence of no fewer than 250 people was not always observed either. In this context I cannot but agree with the opinion voiced by Ch. Panavas, first deputy head of the Lithuanian Communist Party Ideological Department, who said the following during a discussion about the course of the preparations for the elections: "Another rayon or city organ of a small public organization can nominate candidates at a session in the presence of, say, eight people but 30 times more people are required to be present for ordinary citizens to do the same thing. Where is the logic here?"

If we take into consideration the fact that by law "all voters take part in the elections on an equal footing," it is hard to discern any logic here apart from the old desire to reserve some privileges for public organizations. Nevertheless, it must also be borne in mind that the degree of perfection of any law can only be checked by life itself. After all the current Law on Elections of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Deputies is being tested in practice for the first time. Although it was revamped several times prior to adoption, as V. Litvinas said, it is still now encountering situations of which no one would even have dreamed before. For instance, it turned out that in large collectives it is sometimes harder to nominate a candidate for a district electoral commission than a candidate deputy, since in the first case no fewer than half of all the labor collective's members must be present and in the second no fewer than 250.

The substantial differences between the number of candidates nominated and registered are also attributable to the fact that several dozen candidates abandoned the struggle after their nomination and refused to be registered with the commissions. This indicates their growing sense of responsibility and self-critical evaluation of their own capabilities at this highly complex time for the republic. However, there is also a graphic example of the opposite kind, which is more of an anomaly: Yu. Tartilas, senior lecturer at the Lithuanian Council of Ministers Institute for Boosting the Qualifications of Leading Workers and Economic Specialists, agreed to run as a candidate... in two districts at once—Daynavskiy No. 26 and Severnyy No. 57. This was only discovered when the republic's electoral commission was compiling the overall list of candidates, and I do not think that there is any need to say what its decision was.

By and large the nomination of candidate deputies attests to a clear increase in ordinary citizens' activeness and organization since approximately 70 percent of the candidates were nominated at meetings at their place of work or residence. Public organizations proved much less active in this respect, and this applies both to the Communist Party and to "Sajudis" and other registered parties and public movements. In the opinion of V. Litvinas, this can be accounted for by the fact that their platforms mainly pursue the same aims and only differ in nuance. In this situation voters are able to vote for an individual rather than for the candidate's membership of a particular party or movement. The list of candidates illustrates that many new people who are better known in their rayon or city than on a republic scale will run as candidates for the republic's legislative body. Many of them have only recently become involved in active public activity. On the other hand only 21 people from the current Supreme Soviet have been nominated as candidate deputies, and they also have to withstand acute competition in the elections themselves—after all, on average four contenders will fight for each deputy's mandate. There are grounds for assuming that the voters' attitude to candidates has become more exacting and critical. This is also indicated by the results of sociological studies: People put honesty first rather than the candidates' membership of a particular party or movement or their promises.

Everything indicates that people have grown somewhat tired of fine words and assurances amid their continuing joyless everyday existence. They expect concrete actions from the future deputies. Hence the calmer attitude to the current election campaign in comparison with last year's. Obviously it is time to take a sober look at life. One is increasingly conscious of this in the perception of the main intrigue in the election campaign. Admittedly, quite recently, this intrigue did not exist at all since the question of the distribution of forces in the republic's new Supreme Soviet was considered a purely rhetorical one. Now the Communist Party's chances have clearly increased, a fact best confirmed by the slogan "Soviets Without Communists" voiced in some parts of Lithuania (last year there was simply no need for this slogan).

Although, as the elections draw near, the slogans directed against the Communist Party are increasingly loud, they have not met with an ardent response from people. Even the most prestigious "Sajudis" leaders, including non-party people, do not support this extreme position.

It is still hard to give precise figures in view of the process of self-determination which is still under way within the party ranks, however, preliminary figures indicate that most candidates are communists.

Finally, here are a few typical figures. Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Belorussians, Jews, and Ukrainians account for 425, 32, 30, eight, three, and two candidate deputies respectively. Other national groups are also represented. This indicates that the nomination of candidates, which took place in a democratic atmosphere, may reflect with surprising accuracy the national composition of Lithuania's inhabitants.

Changes in Lithuanian Press Outlined

LD1602152990 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 16 Feb 90

[By ELTA Correspondent Arturas Mankiavicius]

[Text] Vilnius February 17 TASS—The daily newspapers TIESA (TRUTH) and SOVETSKAYA LITVA (SOVIET LITHUANIA) no longer carry the subheading "the organ of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of Lithuania." They are now newspapers of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Another newspaper, CZERWONY SZTANDAR (RED BANNER in Polish), which was previously granted the status, has changed its title and will henceforth be called KURIER WILENSKI (also in Polish). The newspaper was published under that heading from 1841-1865 and from 1924-40.

The Lithuanian parliament and government began a publication in January of the VALSTYBES ZINIOS (STATE HERALD) weekly.

These decisions, many people believe, are connected with alterations in Article 6 of the Lithuanian Constitution, beginning in last December the Communist Party was no longer the only "leading and guiding force" in the republic, following the official recognition of a multiparty system in Lithuania. Newspapers are now published by Democrats, Social Democrats, the Lithuanian Greens and many unregistered parties, associations and movements.

Not only republican newspapers are changing their status. A recent plenary meeting of the Independent Union of Lithuanian Journalists expressed support for all town and district newspapers that deleted the line under their title describing them as "organs of one or another local party committee." The meeting voiced support for the dissociation of newspapers from various departments. From now on, these newspapers will take guidance in their professional activity only from the Lithuanian Constitution and the Law on the Press.

Violence, Curfew Reported in Uzbekistan

Curfew Imposed in Samarkand

LD1602214490 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] The Moscow-based independent news agency INTERFAX reports intercommunal riots from Samarkand in Uzbekistan.

Radio Tashkent reports that a curfew has been imposed in Samarkand and interior troop reinforcements have been sent in. The riots began as Tajiks, who account for the majority of residents, clashed with Armenians. Rallies and demonstrations continue in the city. A spokeswoman for the Tashkent chapter of the national Memorial Society [name indistinct] has voiced grave concern about the situation and said self-defense units are being formed in the city.

'Mass Riots' Reported in Samarkand

AU1702140190 Paris AFP in English 0814 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] MOSCOW, Feb 17 (AFP)—Mass riots have erupted at Samarkand, in the central Asian republic of Uzbekistan, between Tajiks and Armenians, Radio Moscow's INTERFAX news said here Saturday.

A curfew has been imposed in Samarkand and troop reinforcements sent in, Radio Moscow itself said, quoting Radio Tashkent.

Riots were reported to have started Friday with clashes between Tajiks, the majority population, and Armenians, according to INTERFAX.

Self-defence units were being set up in Samarkand, INTERFAX also said, quoting local sources.

On Friday, TASS news agency, quoting the Interior Ministry, said that leaflets had appeared in Uzbekistan calling on Russians to leave Central Asia by the end of the month.

Such leaflets have been distributed in Tashkent, and in areas bordering Tajikistan, where nationalist riots broke out earlier this week leaving at least 18 reported dead and 200 hurt.

The ministry said the situation in southern Uzbekistan was tense because of "extremist agitators" and rumours carried by refugees.

The official Uztag news agency in Tashkent, reached by telephone from Moscow, said there was no trouble in the capital itself, adding that it had not heard of any trouble in Samarkand either.

Party Official Denies Unrest

LD1702191790 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in Samarkand, a town in the Uzbek republic in the Soviet Central Asia, is calm and quiet. This was told to our reporter by a regional Communist Party spokesman whom he got in touch with over the telephone. The spokesman rejected our late Friday report about social unrest and manifestations in the city of Samarkand saying that calm and businesslike atmosphere was dominating the republic's life.

Local Officials Deny Riots, Curfew

AU1702141090 Paris AFP in English 1048 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Moscow, Feb 17 (AFP)—Officials in Sarmarkand denied Saturday there had been any communal riots in the central Asian town as reported earlier by Moscow Radio.

A spokeswoman for the regional authority told AFP by telephone that the situation in the town was calm Saturday as it had been Friday, the day the riots were reported to have started. "There is no curfew," she added.

Radio Moscow, quoting Radio Tashkent, had said a curfew was imposed in the Uzbekistan city following mass communal riots there. Troops had been rushed to the city, the radio added.

A militia spokesman reached by telephone in Sarmarkand Saturday also denied there had been any trouble.

"We have heard no such reports," he said when asked about a possible curfew.

A journalist at the official UZTAG news agency in Tashkent, reached by telephone, said there was no trouble in the capital itself, adding that he had not heard of any trouble in Samarkand either. Tashkent Radio did not broadcast such a report, he said.

Interior Ministry Reports on Situation

LD1602151190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] A USSR Interior Ministry Press Center report on the situation in Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]:

In connection with the events in Tajikistan, the operational situation has become complicated in the regions bordering this republic. Leaflets referring to the alleged settling of Azeri refugees, and to housing being offered them and appeals for the immediate eviction of Russians out of Central Asia, have begun to appear more frequently. Refugees from Tajikistan passing through the republic are having a serious effect on the destabilization of the situation. Operational information about the activities of extremist emissaries from Azerbaijan and the Tajik SSR is being authenticated.

In Khamzinskiy rayon, Tashkent, two citizens discovered leaflets of an anti-Russian content in their mailboxes, demanding they leave the city before 1 March. In Samarkand, as a result of operational investigation measures, one (Saidov) was detained as a result of the discovery of leaflets on 13 February. Upon examination another 30 leaflets of an anti-Armenian nature were discovered. The question of his responsibility is being investigated. On 14 February, in (Siabskiy) rayon, one (Guseynov), who on 13 February in the Samarkand Hotel called for the banishment of Armenians and the use of force against them, was fined 500 rubles by the rayon people's court.

Election Report Denies Disturbance Rumors

LD1902172190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 19 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Uzbekistan by correspondent Mukhtar Ganiyev]

[Text] On 18 February Uzbekistan residents voted for their people's deputies in republican, oblast, and local soviets. Our correspondent Mukhtar Ganiyev reports on the first results of the elections.

[Ganiyev] The new Uzbekistan parliament will consist of 500 people's deputies. On this day residents of towns and villages of the republic have to choose from 1,127 candidates. This is polling station No. 6, located at Samarkand State University. We travelled 600 kilometers, only because of stubborn rumors and the news from certain well known radio stations that was transmitted on the night of 16-17 February to the whole world, concerning alleged riots and pogroms, bringing of troops into the city, and imposition of a curfew in Samarkand.

[Man in polling station, captioned as A.A. Abdusaidov, a voter] These rumors are put about by certain individual people, that is what I think. They arise from such people who particularly ... that is, who do not want to live honestly themselves. They do not want to live honestly. These people, how can I put it, they are dissatisfied with their ... they don't know how to work, and they are unhappy with restructuring.

[Ganiyev, over video of market stalls] And looking at these everyday human concerns, one would wish that our colleagues from the Western news services would apologize for the untruth.

And more on the elections. In this constituency there are nine candidates for the republican parliament. A real campaign is in progress, a competition, and I know that the people will choose somebody worthy. But I will say frankly, there are not a lot of such examples, and that is a fact. Some 176, or approximately 30 percent, of the candidates for people's deputy are standing alone, without alternatives.

[Man captioned as A.K. Irgashev, voter and USSR people's deputy, to camera] Here we are in constituency No. 156, where I have just voted for future people's deputies. And here again, for some reason, there is only one candidate for the Supreme Soviet, on a no-alternative basis. I consider this a violation of democratic foundations, that this will bring no benefit to our republic.

[Ganiyev, over video of polling station] And to judge by the telephone calls to our office and local reports, there are other election law violations. For example, in several places rayon party committees and executive committees staff have tried to exert pressure on election commissions, protecting the interests of a candidate. The results of the elections will be known tomorow, and we will report them. But in the opinion of many voters in the republic that I have had occasion to talk to, this important political event has been a real step toward our society's democratization.

Strife Rumors Refuted

LD0402183390 Tashkent Domestic Service in Uzbek 1300 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Various rumors are being spread about violence and crimes committed against nonindigenous people in the city of Tashkent and some republican oblasts. In this connection, Bakhadur Bukharov, deputy chairman of the Uzbekistan Procuracy Investigation Board said the following to our correspondent:

[Begin Bukharov recording] [words indistinct] Such rumors are being intensified by distributing pamphlets to homes. The contents of these pamphlets, which are aimed at inciting hostility among nationalities, consist of pure slanders. When we analyzed the existing situation in our republic it was revealed that these rumors have no basis. The relevant bodies are taking strict measures against people who are spreading such rumors and creating a negative atmosphere, and people who call for illegal actions and those who distribute provocative pamphlets. For example Procuracy organs exposed people like Ibragimov, Guseynov, and Khayrullayev and others like them, and (?brought charges) against them. Proceedings connected with the distribution of pamphlets continue speedily. The aim of distributing such pamphlets is to disrupt interethnic unity and to create hostility among various nationalities.

This situation in our republic is being efficiently corrected by the (?militia). We are regularly briefing the public on all measures concerning the punishment of people who are spreading ill-intentioned rumors and pamphlets. Strict measures are being taken against some subversive elements who oppose restructuring and public [words indistinct] and against those who intend to aggravate the situation in our republic. State bodies have all the facilities to maintain peace and order among workers and to implement full compliance with socialist laws. [end recording]

Situation in Uzbek Border Rayons Strained

NC2002115990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 17 Feb 90

[From the republican press review]

[Text] A report conveyed to the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs says that the situation between the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] rayons and the Tajik SSR are strained as a result of the incidents in the Tajik SSR. Leaflets have been distributed claiming that refugees from Azerbaijan are being settled and given housing in that republic. Meanwhile, calls have been made for the immediate eviction of the Russians from central Asia.

The refugees from the Tajik SSR are seriously disrupting the stability in the Uzbek SSR. Detailed information on the activities of the extremists from Azerbaijan and the Tajik SSR (?is not available). Anti-Russian leaflets were found on two of the residents of Tashkent. The leaflets called on the Russians to evacuate the city by 1 March. Operations have been carried out in Samarkand in connection with the distribution of leaflets. Seidov was arrested on 13 February 1990. Thirty anti-Armenian leaflets were discovered during the searches.

Meanwhile, the popular court in [name indistinct] rayon ordered Guseynov to pay a fine of 500 rubles on 14 February. Guseynov tried to strangle a number of Armenians in the Samarkand guest house and [words indistinct] on 13 February.

Uzbek Bureau Repeals Verdict Against Radzhabov

LD1602183290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] The Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee bureau has considered an application by Comrade Radzhabov, former first secretary of the Samarkand party oblast committee, in which he asked for the decision to expel him from the ranks of the CPSU to be reconsidered. Because the accusations of breaching the norms of party life, abuse of his position and bribe-taking, brought against Comrade Radzhabov in 1988, have not been confirmed, the bureau repealed the decision adopted earlier as groundless. A decision has been adopted to submit for consideration at the next Central Committee plenum the question of readmitting him to the CPSU ranks and to the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee.

TASS Report

LD0302194490 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 3 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 3 TASS—The Collegium of the Soviet Prosecutor's Office has cleared Timofey Osetrov, former number two in the Uzbek Communist Party, and former Samarkand Regional Party chief Nazir Radzhabov, of corruption charges.

Osetrov was arrested on December 13, 1986, and spent nearly two and a half years in detention, but his case collapsed after a careful investigation into charges brought against him.

Criminal proceedings against Radzhabov, who spent nine months behind bars, were stopped on the same grounds on December 29, 1989.

The collegium heard a report by investigators and prosecutors probing both cases, and approved the decision to stop criminal proceedings because of absence of a criminal act.

It apologised before Osetrov and Radzhabov for their unwarranted arrest and law violations committed by a group of investigators led by Telman Gdlyan and Nikolay Ivanov.

Law violations committed by the group are being investigated.

Corrupt Uzbek Party Official Gets Eight Years

PM1502151390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Vladimir Kuleshov report: "Former Administrator of Affairs Convicted of Bribery"]

[Text] Ashkhabad —The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Court Judicial Collegium for Criminal Cases, presided over by Kh. Akyyev, has completed its hearing of the case of T. Umarov, former administrator of affairs of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, charged with receiving bribes and abusing his official position. The indictment states that Umarov received 18 bribes, in the form of money and manufactured goods, worth 132,000 rubles [R] in the period 1976-84. According to the account given in the charge, bribes were given to him by, among others, A. Karimov, former first secretary of the Surkhan-Darya and then Bukhara Obkoms [oblast party committee], and K. Kamalov, former first secretary of the Kara-Kalpak Obkom.

Both the defendant and a number of witnesses repudiated in court testimony given in the preliminary investigation. Certain episodes relating to the receipt of bribes worth R30,000 were removed from the charge. Careful study of the material and checking of a large number of accounts involving visits to the scene of the crime enabled the judicial collegium to find proven cases in which Umarov received sums of money totaling R102,000 from various officials. Umarov was sentenced to eight years imprisonment, to be served in an intensified-regime correctional labor colony, plus confiscation of property.

"Umarov has been given the minimum penalty," Kh. Akyyev observed. "Account was taken of the defendant's advanced years—he is already 73—and the fact that he is a war invalid and suffers from poor health..."

The judicial collegium issued an interlocutory order against USSR Prosecutor General A. Sukharev in view of the investigation into the criminal case against Umarov having taken more than 3 and a half years. The court delivered a second interlocutory order against the Tashkent City Soviet Executive Committee, stating that the Frunzenskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee had handed out decorations to Umarov's relations and acquaintances on the basis of directives issued by the Central Committee administrator of affairs.

New Holiday Instituted in Uzbekistan 21 Mar

PM0202134190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 90 Morning Edition p 6

["Own correspondent" report: "Holiday Declared"]

[Text] It has been decided in Uzbekistan to declare 21 March a nonworking day for the republic's working people. The resolution of the Uzbek Council of Ministers was dictated by the desire of the inhabitants to mark Navruz [solar New Year] as a national holiday.

Scientific

Reportage on Progress of Space Flight, Landing

New Crew Introduced to Mir

LD1602111590 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 15 Feb 90

[TASS special correspondent reports from Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—Aleksandr Viktorenko, Aleksandr Serebrov, Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin have been working together at a near-earth orbit for more than two days.

The former crew of the Mir complex are continuing to show the ropes to the new crew. Today they acquainted their colleagues with the arrangement of scientific instruments, which were brought by cargo spacecraft and are now installed in the base compartment and the Quant-2 module.

This morning the cosmonauts conducted an experiment to evaluate optical characteristics of the earth's atmosphere as part of their geophysical studies.

The crew continues to fulfill a plan of biotechnological studies. They intend to conduct one more experiment for the purification of insulin with the help of the Ruchei electrophoretic installation and to record the process on video-tape.

The biological experiment Magnitogravistat will be started tonight, as part of the study of the influence of the heterogeneous magnetic field on the development of higher plants during a space flight.

According to telemetric information and reports from the orbit, the flight of the Mir complex is proceeding normally. The four cosmonauts are in good health and feel well.

Experiments Continued

LD1602144890 Moscow TASS in English 0958 GMT 16 Feb 90

[A TASS corresondent reports from the Flight Control Center]

[Text] Moscow February 16 TASS—The joint flight of Cosmonauts Viktorenko, Serebrov, Solovyov and Balandin is continuing normally.

The crew of the "Mir" orbital complex are busy on several experiments today. They are trying to perfect the technology of purifying medical preparations in micro-gravitational conditions by means of the "Ruchei" electroforetic installation.

The cosmonauts also carried out the "Resonance" experiment to determine the dynamic characteristics of the orbital complex, making up a complicated space system.

The first series of experiments to study the influence of open space factors on the structure and properties of ferromagnetic materials were started by means of "ferrit" equipment, installed this January on the outside surface of the "Quant-2" module.

The materials study programme, which will be carried out by means of the "Gallar" installation, includes an experiment to obtain a monocrystal of gallium arsenide.

In view of their impending return to the earth, Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov today showed Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin, who will replace them on the orbit, some specific methods of controlling the complex's movement.

The work on the orbit is proceeding according to the fixed schedule. The cosmonauts feel well.

Joint Mission Ending

LD1702124990 Moscow TASS in English 1203 GMT 17 Feb 90

["Four Soviet Cosmonauts About To End Joint Work in Orbit"—TASS headline]

[Text] Mission Control Centre February 17 TASS—The joint flight of four Soviet cosmonauts aboard the research orbital complex Mir is drawing to an end.

Today Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov will check up the control systems of the Soyuz TM-8 spacecraft in which they will return to earth.

They will also hold training sessions with the use of the Chibis pneumatic vacuum space suit which simulates terrestrial gravitation.

Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin, members of the sixth main expedition, will engage in preparing scientific equipment for forthcoming experiments and carry out medical control examinations.

Biotechnological research on the Ruchei and Biocryst installation are being completed today. Final operations will be performed to grow monocrystals of various protein compounds in zero gravity and yet another experiment will be carried out to test the technology to purify medicinal preparations by an electrophoresis method.

The first of a series of biological experiments with the utilization of scientific equipment, made in the United States under a commercial agreement, has also been completed.

According to reports from orbit, the flight is proceeding according to programme. The cosmonauts are in good health and are feeling well.

Final Preparations

LD1802131190 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 18 Feb 90

[By TASS special correspondent from the Mission Control Center]

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—The Soviet space crew of the fifth main expedition on board the orbital complex Mir have completed their mission.

Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov will return to earth in the morning of February 19 while Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin will continue work in orbit.

Today the cosmonauts performed final operations under the Recomb biological experiment programme. The purpose of the experiment was to research into the effectiveness of obtaining hybrid cells producing biologically active substances in zero gravity.

The Soyuz TM-8 spacecraft has been prepared for return to earth. Data on numerous research carried out during Viktorenko's and Serebrov's flight and in the period of their joint work with the newly arrived space crew have been stowed in the descent module.

According to medical control data, the cosmonauts are in good health.

The flight is proceeding according to programme.

Soyuz TM-8 Landing

LD1902115590 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Arkalyk, Kazakhstan February 19 TASS—BY TASS special correspondent Andrey Filippov:

The Soyuz TM-8 spacecraft touched down in Soviet Kazakhstan at 7:36 Moscow time today, sending up a huge cloud of snow, some 55 kilometers north-east of the city of Arkalyk.

Cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov safely returned to earth after spending 166 days aboard the Mir space station.

Weathermen refused to okay the touch down for twenty-four hours because temperatures fell to minus 30 degrees Centigrade and a biting wind swept the area.

Finally, there was an "opening" over Arkalyk and the mission control decided to land the craft there.

Rescue teams spotted the landing craft when it was hovering several kilometers above the earth. By half-past-seven several helicopters with doctors and reporters had arrived at the expected landing site.

The craft smoothly nears earth, swinging under the cupola of its parachute. Soft landing motors ignite, and finally the pair of cosmonauts emerge from the hatch, stepping down on snow.

Medics intervened just seconds after reporters flocked to the cosmonauts, leading them to a warm tent for "early" check ups.

"Our cargo includes semi-conductor crystals and bio preparations," Aleksandr Viktorenko told TASS.

It took about an hour to unload the landing craft. The crew and cargo were then transferred to Arkalyk. Viktorenko and Serebrov flew to Moscow.

Achievements Noted

LD1902093190 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow February 19 TASS—Cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov landed 55 kilometers to the north-east of Arkalyk at 7:36 Moscow time [0436 FMT] today, after completing their mission aboard the Mir space station.

The cosmonauts are feeling well, doctors said.

Viktorenko and Serebrov have been replaced on board Mir by Anatoliy Solovyov and Aleksandr Balandin.

The programme of work carried out by Mir's fifth crew included geophysical, astro-physical and medico-biological research and biotechnological and technical experiments.

Viktorenko and Serebrov made about 200 tests involving different photo equipment and spectrometers to study earth's natural resources and environment.

The crew continued experiments with the Roentgen international observatory, in the Quant module.

They used the Gallar technological unit to test the production of high-quality semi-conductors for the electronic industry.

The programme of biotechnological research included new methods of cleaning drugs by an electrophoretic method. They studied ways of cultivating hybrid producer cells in weightlessness.

The crew completed the first biotechnological experiment with U.S. equipment, in accordance with a commercial agreement.

They carried out extensive biological research to study plant growth and reptile development and cell changes in plant and animal tissues. They also tried several methods of growing wheat and lettuce in space.

During their 166-day stay in weightlessness, the crew underwent regular medical check-ups, providing new data about man's working abilities and functional state during different stages of the flight.

The arrival of the Quant-2 module greatly expanded Mir's research potential. Viktorenko and Serebrov reactivated the module's equipment.

During their flight, the crew made five space walks. They installed new equipment outside Mir to carry out geophysical research and to study the influence of space on various construction materials.

They tested new space suits, a special device to move in space and the Quant-2 docking section.

Results of research carried out by Viktorenko and Serebrov will be used in various branches of Soviet science and economy.

Cosmonauts Return Safely

LD1902052390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Half an hour ago, after a flight of nearly six months, the cosmonauts Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov returned to earth. Over to flight control center and this report from our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich;

[Lazarevich] The landing took place at the estimated spot, some 50 km from the town of Arkalyk. I know exactly what Aleksandr Viktorenko and Aleksandr Serebrov, the returned cosmonausts, are doing now. They are giving an interview to our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev, whose report you will hear in later news bulletins today.

The flight control center is constantly reporting what is happening in the landing area. The first, and most important, report is that the cosmonauts feel well. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified speaker]...in the medical tent, where the initial medical examination will be carried out

[Lazarevich] Well, this examination is called an initial one, but in fact it is very, very scrupulous. Now specialists are busy at the descent vehicle. They have to take out the materials from the research carried out by this crew. [passage omitted]

Awards Conferred

LD1902200790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Feb 90

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has conferred Orders of the October Revolution upon Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Serebrov and Aleksandr Stepanovich Viktorenko, Heroes of the Soviet Union, Pilot Cosmonauts of the USSR, for successful completion of their space flight on board the Mir orbiting scientific research complex and for the courage and heroism thereby displayed.